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the

Pacific Sentinel



#DISARMPSU

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LITTLE COW PIGEON

PORN FANTASY PROBLEM

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FEATURED THIS MONTH

McKenzie Lee is dreaming about vodka and dumplings.

Matthew Neil Andrews is a singer, percussionist, and composer completing his Master of Arts in Music under the tutelage of Bonnie Miksch, Renée Favand-See, Jelena Schiff, and Anwyn Willette. He is the Editor-in-Chief of Subito, the student-run journal of the School Music and Theater. Matthew considers himself a "cat person."

Cory Elia is a junior in the Arts & Letters department, he writes about "politics, protests, and pot" because "it is Portland!"

Jake Johnson wants you to remember to vote on November 6th. If we don't vote they won't listen.

Shane Johnson is a business major and writing minor, although he has taken more music electives than writing courses so far. He feels bad throwing away tiny pumpkins after autumn is over.

Aurora Mak is seriously considering devoting her life to building a time machine for the sole purpose of going back 10,000 years and taking a look around.

Sydney McBee adores rocks, socks and tiny boxes. She often talks about music like she has a prestigious degree in it.

Daniel J. Nickolas will be at the 5th Avenue Cinema theater on November 10th at 7:00pm to see one of his favorite films, the existential German classic, *Run Lola Run*. Come and sit with him.

G. J. Schneider is a Build Exito Research scholar who hopes to earn his Masters in Public Health after his time with Portland State. Gavin enjoys overthinking, and wants everyone to come to the PSU Improv Club, Wednesdays 7-9pm.

Van Vanderwall is a post-bac student in the English department. He is a musician and writer.

Peter M. Wedlake is a first-year political science student with a focus on practical politics and public policy. Since March 2018 he has been interning with a Democratic State Representative both legislatively and on the campaign trail; his views do not necessarily reflect those of the legislature or the Democratic party.

M.W. is a master of procrastination and terrible at cooking. "I found out the hard way when my dog refused to eat stuff I cooked."

Margo Craig is a cloud and insect enthusiast, founder of Fants (fans of ants), studying biology, a novice polymath.

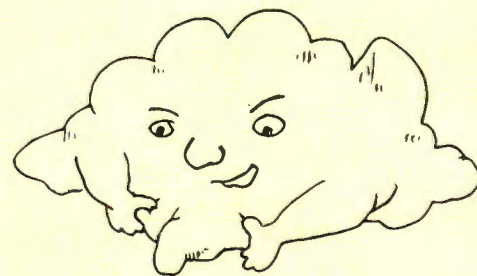
Zell Thomas is a photographer and writer unequivocally in tune with minimalism and "the varying spectrum of grey" and just about anything that can be deemed elegant.

Josh Gates is a Bachelor of Fine Arts candidate with a focus on painting, but can't stop drawing ridiculous doodles.

Jon Bordas is tired of being fed lies and is only seeking the truth.

Savannah Quarum is studying graphic design and advertising. When she's not too busy to have them, her interests include finding new bands to listen to, biking/skating around town, and drunk karaoke.

John Rojas is a junior in the graphic design program and studied art in Spain.



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Voting should be a celebratory act, where we show that democracy works because the will of the people is enacted because the people are allowed to have a say in how their city, state, and country are run. There is a lot of bureaucratic tape that makes it seem like nothing can change no matter what we do. However, being uninspired allows that myth to perpetuate itself by allowing those in power to set laws that keep the status quo in place. *Reuters* polling shows that a majority of Americans believe weed should be legal and that medicare for all sounds like a pretty good idea; however, those beliefs don't seem to be showing up in congress for some reason. Voting laws can be convoluted, even if you should be allowed to vote, sometimes you can't.

Maybe your polling place closed, maybe a natural disaster destroyed your region and the state didn't think giving people extra time to register because of the inconvenience of hosting a massive hurricane, forced evacuations, and the mandatory shutdown of places that would allow you to register to vote prevented you from being able to do so. Then your governor thought your request for more time was ridiculous because you can register online—even though that website was down with technical difficulties. If someone in power doesn't care enough to enable and empower you or your fellow citizens with the right to vote, you should vote them out. Democracy doesn't work if people don't have access to the ballot.

An NPR report from September showed that even in the 2016 presidential election only 59 percent of eligible voters participated at the ballot box. Let's assume that there were a lot of roadblocks put in place and most of them were prevented from being able to vote. In North Dakota, Native Americans living on reservations just found out, less than a month before the midterm election, that many of their reservation ID's will not be enough to grant them access to their voting rights. If you are able to vote, please do it. Not everyone is as fortunate as you. Use your voice to demand that everyone should have a fundamental right to participate in democracy. Across the country, citizens are dealing with rising costs of living, natural disasters, and the mess of adulating—we don't have a lot of time and energy left to jump through crazy hoops in order to vote. Residents of D.C. and Puerto Rico do not have voting representation in congress because they are not states. Both have voted to become states, but congress is slow to move on it.

That previously mentioned NPR report showed that in 11 states the Presidential election was won by less than 5 percentage points. Most of those states had over 30 percent of voters sit one out. Even in other states, if the 40 percent of people who don't vote started voting every time, they could really change things. Those in power know it's easier for them when we sit out—they know this technically has to resemble a democracy. If we, the people, demand real change, they actually have to listen. I don't care if you're a Republican or a Democrat, I just care that you use your right to vote; because it is precious, serious, and important to make your voice heard. This country is ours. Don't give up your power. Vote—and vote to elect leaders who care enough to ensure every American can, too.

Jake Johnson
Executive Editor

The Pacific Sentinel staff has collectively decided to vote no on Measures 105 and 106.

Measure 105 aims to repeal Oregon's sanctuary state status, therefore deeming racial profiling permissible. Rather than creating an atmosphere of discrimination and distrust, law enforcement should be held to a higher standard and discouraged from policing with bias. **We vote no.**

Measure 106 would prohibit public funding from covering abortions. Public employees who have health insurance, as well as women enrolled in OHP and Medicaid, would lose abortion coverage if Measure 106 passes. Women's reproductive rights must include access to safe abortions; jeopardizing these rights compromises the health of women. **We vote no.**

-All of us at The Pacific Sentinel

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WHO WE ARE

The Pacific Sentinel magazine offers an inclusive forum incorporating in-depth content from the PSU community. We advocate on behalf of the marginalized, explore the merits of cultural artifacts, and initiate interdisciplinary communication.

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All Taaj

Taaj Hudson, a PSU student who moonlights as a rapper/producer, talks music and opening for Jay Rock



*I want things to
be great / and
I'm feeling all
this angst / now
my mind's in my
way / now my
mind's in my
way.*

by Shane Johnson

Taaj Hudson found himself performing on stage for the second time ever on Thursday, October 11th. This stage, however, was far from an open mic stage where many college musicians can be found honing their craft. Taaj—who raps and produces under his first name alone—was on stage at the Hawthorne Theater, opening for Jay Rock—a formidable California-based rapper and Top Dawg Entertainment labelmate of Kendrick Lamar, and REASON, the label's most recent signee.

The PSU Sophomore, a Sonic Arts and Music Production Major, went on stage around 9 p.m. He emerged to a sold-out venue; many in the crowd were unaware that a local rapper was even opening, others were shouting his name enthusiastically. He didn't hold back, diving into technically challenging verses and bouncing around the stage energetically, winning over some of the more ambivalent crowd members in the process. As his set went on, his nerves got to him and he messed up a few lyrics. He freestyled instead. The crowd didn't notice.

Taaj's music is an eclectic mix of sounds and ideas. His Dawn EP, released earlier this year opens with a boastful banger called "All Taaj," and later finds Taaj reflecting over a strumming guitar on "Communicate": "I want things to be great / and I'm feeling all this angst / now my mind's in my way / now my mind's in my way." An unreleased song debuted at the Hawthorne Theater featured a hypnotic flute-like melody over which Taaj croons, "I keep it lowkey / need that whip with no keys / need my wrists on freeze / need that crib overseas."

Back in the world of PSU, I sat down with Taaj outside the Chipotle on campus the day after his show. As we talked about the concert, his music, and his ambitions, he was calm and thoughtful in his responses, cracking the occasional joke but thinking seriously about his answers.

On a few occasions during the interview he interrupted himself when he saw a passerby he recognized, greeting them with a warm smile, immediately chatting them up. "Hey how're you doing? You wanna see my show? You done with class for the day? What you 'bout to do?"

I dubbed him a "man of the people" after the third or fourth time this happened. "Yeah you have to be," he responded, "you can't be not for the people, if you're doing this. 'Cause you are the people."

*The following interview has been edited for brevity and clarity.

photograph by Shane Johnson

How are you feeling after the show and what was the experience of performing like?

It was a good lesson, I learned a lot from it. It was very fun and the most exciting thing that's ever happened to me in my life probably.

It's crazy to explain it, but every once in a while for the past two days, for like a second, I'd get super nervous and then it'd go away. The same thing happened right before I got on stage, intensified a little bit. And I took the first step on stage and that feeling just went away, and it felt super natural. That's why I was freestyling, the energy just fed me and the crowd fed my performance. I'm very about living in the moments, because even though last night didn't go perfectly, it was still a good show, good experience, good everything. I learned a lot, it opened doors. Y'know what I'm saying?

What went into the decision-making of the songs you chose to perform?

Energy. I wanted to keep changing the vibe up. We started with the harder music, then we had a catchy song, went back into the harder music, just faster paced. Then we ended with [Travis Scott's hit single] "Sicko Mode," because we had to bring the energy back up for REASON, especially cuz I messed up on the last song—which is okay because you want to mess up to learn.

How long has music been in your life, and when did you start pursuing it seriously?

Music's been in my life pretty much my whole life, as long as I can remember. I played guitar when I was twelve, but before that me and my brother always would be messing around with music. My dad made beats, I watched him.

I started practicing rapping first. I started producing because I didn't want to have to spend money on beats but then I fell in love with that. I started recording the same time I started producing. I didn't learn from anyone, I just said I'm gonna figure this out myself, don't watch YouTube videos, because I just wanted to be creative with it.

I started really pursuing music seriously, really going after it, finding other avenues and getting deep into it, spending time—that started happening this year or last year. I was working just as hard the past couple years but now I'm working smarter, and accomplishing objectives, setting goals and getting it done. Every goal I've set, I've got it done just by setting the goal.

What is your creative process like?

It really depends on the situation—I just like to be creative with what I'm doing. Most of the time if I'm making a beat, I start with the melody of the beat—most people start with the drums and the rhythm—but that's my strong suit [the melody]. I start with the melody because that's my favorite part and also the hardest part for me.

With lyrics it tends to depend on what type of song I make. Sometimes I freestyle, sometimes I write. It's just about getting energy on the track. I think about everything the same, just at different points in the song's life; it's really song to song, day to day, letting the pen control what happens and not me.

What has your experience in the Sonic Arts & Music Production (SAMP) program at PSU been like?

I've learned a lot this year, even the first day of class. I joined late, I wasn't in SAMP last year. I'm learning all the technical stuff behind things I already do by ear. I'm hoping to increase my connections and knowledge and learn a way to navigate music better.

Looking forward, what goals have you set for yourself, short and long term?

Short term, within the next year, I want to have a song that charts. Not even top any charts, just one that makes the charts. That's just like what I want, but my actual goal I'm working towards is trying to build a different culture of hip hop in Portland, 'cause a lot of people move selfishly when it comes to the music industry here. If they can find a way to benefit off of it short term they'll do it, but a lot of people don't think about the long term. The music scene is dope but the hip hop scene is lacking. There's a lot of talent but I want to build a different culture around here.

Longer term, I want to be the greatest musician of all time. Something like that. I want to be an artist that transcends genres. I do want to be compared to the great hip hop artists, but I also want to be compared to Michael Jackson, The Beatles. I don't want to be a "regular" rapper.

What do you want listeners to take away from your music?

Follow your dreams. Be yourself. The best way to be unique or original is to be yourself, because no one's like you. Someone may be similar, but then you're connecting with them, that's the point of any type of experience. That's pretty much the point of human existence, is to connect with people. All anybody wants is a connection.

You can find Taaj's music on SoundCloud or streaming services such as Spotify, and keep up to date with him on Instagram @justtaaj

President Trump's Midnight "Nightcap" Sandwich

by Aurora Mak

After reading the anonymous Op-Ed *The New York Times* released, I felt empowered to tell my story of working at the White House as the presidential snackmonger. I write this to hopefully bolster more confessionals and brave souls to come out against Donald Trump's behavior—I am not writing this for fame, attention, or even in malice against the president. I write this, rather, as a duty to the people of America.

For too long, this administration has kept quiet about the day-to-day goings-on in the White House, but no more—we need to speak out, and loudly, if we expect to ever keep this country from falling apart. I admit, many in the White House seem entirely content with chugging along and allowing Mr. Trump to continue his actions, but I am not one of them.

Here is just one example of Trump's erratic choices and requests; this is the recipe for President Trump's Nightcap Sandwich. Since Trump is a life-long straight edge, the President doesn't request for a few fingers of Brandy to finish the night, he requests for a "little bit of sandwich covfefe," as he stated when he first requested this dish.

Ingredients:

- 1 slice of Wonder bread
- 1 slice of rye bread
- Pico de gallo
- 1 large cage-free egg
- ¼ lb Chorizo
- 9 crinkle cut french fries
- Snack bag of Cheetos
- Snack bag Cool Ranch Doritos
- Black Olives spread
- Sauerkraut
- Mayo
- Salt

Preparation:

The first step in creating this sandwich is to toast the Wonder Bread and rye until they are "dry but not browned. The browned ones are bad hombres." While this is being done, pour the contents of both snack bags into a mortar and pestle, crush the Cheetos and Doritos until they resemble the "consistency of Puerto Rico beach sand," and then set the bread and chip powder aside.

The next step is to hard fry the large caged egg. In choosing which egg to use, the preferred type would be a large brown egg from a local farmer. To fry the egg, use "one of those 'one egg' pans I've seen on TV. It better be the red pan though, not that liberal blue one" and canola oil. Generously salt the egg with table salt as preferred.

For the fries, use the Ore-Ida crinkle cut fries. Follow the instructions on the packaging. However, when constructing the sandwich, pick the fries that have the least coloring on them.

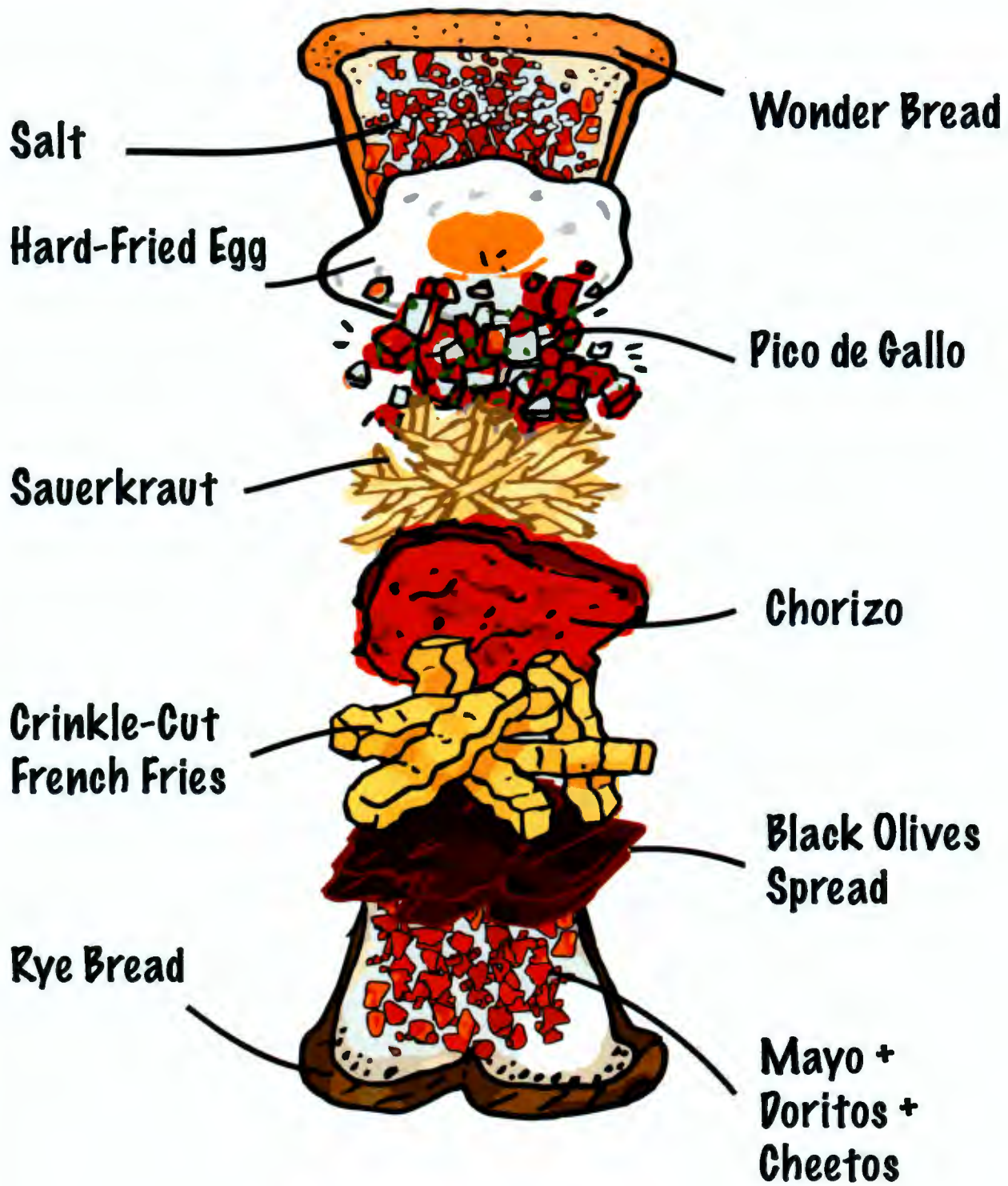
For cooking the chorizo, form it into a patty, heat the canola oil in a heavy skillet over medium heat, and pan-fry till well-done. Roughly 5 to 8 minutes per side.

Forming the Night Cap:

First, spread a generous amount of mayonnaise on both the Wonder Bread and the slice of rye. Be sure to spread all the way to the edges. Then, sprinkle the bread and chip powder over the two slices, coating the mayonnaise completely.

In making the NightCap, the order if the ingredients is extremely important. At the bottom, place the slice of rye. Then, spread the black olive spread and top it with the crinkle cut fries. After the fries, add the chorizo patty and press down to "lock it in." Then add the sauerkraut and pico de gallo in an even layer over the patty. Finally, place the hard-fried egg and top it off with the slice of Wonder Bread. Press down again as a "final solution touch."

***Quotes are of President Trump's specific instructions of how to construct the night cap*



Conversion Therapy

It's time to say 'No'



by M. W.

Can I start off with a personal thought? As a non-straight person, I never thought being queer was easy, but in my mind, it was gradually getting better as the world became more accepting towards queerness. Or so I thought, until I moved out of my queer haven in NYC and into the wilderness that was Indiana. Indiana is an interesting place in the midwest region. There's definitely more corn than people, and the majority of the population are conservative Christians. Queerness wasn't really a thing there, and I stayed still in my closet after witnessing an attack on a queer guy within the first month of moving to Indiana.

The governor at the time was named Mike Pence, and it doesn't surprise me that he has a history of opposing gay rights. It's rumored he supported conversion therapy, and one might wonder what conversion therapy is in the first place. Conversion therapy is the practice of attempting to "convert" a gay individual into a heterosexual one. It would not have become the social issue it is now, if the therapy employed benign methods, but

oftentimes conversion therapy consists of inhumane methods that violate basic human rights. They also tend to target underaged minors because these organizations treat gayness as a mental illness and believe conversion therapy to be more effective with minors.

Practising conversion therapy on minors is illegal in many states, but not all conversion therapy sessions are performed by licensed mental health care providers. According to the National Center for Lesbian Rights, conversion therapy is sometimes performed by unlicensed healthcare providers, religious leaders, and sometimes even performed in church basements. The problem with such organizations is that even in states where it's illegal to perform conversion therapy on minors, the law cannot catch them since being unlicensed means they are not under the scrutiny of state regulatory bodies, and oftentimes religious organizations are able to mask conversion therapy as mission camps or religious activities.

In the Vice documentary *Living Through Conversion Therapy*, Sam Brinton, a conversion therapy survivor, testifies

being treated inhumanely in conversion therapy sessions; they would be tied down to have erotic pictures of men shown to them while the provider placed ice on their hands, wrapped their hands in hot coils, and stuck needles in their fingers to apply electroshock to them. Another survivor, who identifies as TC, recalls his experience of being "deconstructed as a person," where they were harassed mentally and physically; and afterwards being "rebuilt," meaning they were retaught how to "eat, talk, walk, dress, believe, and even breathe" in such a way that they lost self-confidence and worth in being themselves at all. Such extreme measures have been found to have negative impact in the lives of LGBTQ youths. Compared to LGBTQ youths that were less rejected by their loved ones, conversion therapy survivors were 8 times more likely to have attempted suicide, had higher depression rates by 6 times, and were at more than 3 times higher risk of using illicit drugs and contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Living Through Conversion Therapy also shows organizations that specialize in providing "reparative" therapy. Journey into Manhood is one such organization.

illustration by McKenzie Lee

The group intends to provide support for men who voluntarily submit themselves to the organization and claims that no one is participating against their own will. However, the founder of this group, Joseph Nicolosi, makes a statement in the documentary that he believes everyone is heterosexual, and gayness is not natural for humans. This is, of course, a wrong assumption, as queerness occurs in nature as well, and there isn't enough evidence to argue whether heterosexuality is the only norm for humans. Some people are born gay, some are straight, others somewhere in between, or asexual—and thankfully, Portland has a rather accepting culture towards all kinds of sexual identities.

Unfortunately, some places are more conservative than others, and will not accept gayness as natural—they may attempt to fix it, based upon the wrong assumption that gayness is curable. The whole idea of gayness being “convertible” has its basis on an old theory of Sigmund Freud's. Freud's theory is that sexuality is a spectrum, and everyone is capable of bisexuality. In fact, he is the very person who introduced the concept of “innate bisexuality,” but only in males and children, as he thought of lesbianism a “moral death.” It is believed that some religious figures found this a convenient excuse to claim that if sexuality is a spectrum, everyone has the potential to be heterosexual, and came up with the idea of conversion therapy. Like fire, these beliefs spread, and people were led to believe queerness is a mental disease.

Eventually, the American Psychiatric Association officially declared in 1974 that queer is not a mental illness, and many Christian foundations now accept LGBTQ individuals and communities as they come. Even so, conversion therapy prevails. If the practice is not banned, it will continue to live on—and children will continue to suffer against their own will.

Conversion therapies are remnants of the past century that need not exist nowadays, especially since they are proven to be ineffective. Not only are the survivors of conversion therapy testifying against the effectiveness of conversion therapy, but also people that used to be part of ex-gay organizations are now admitting the futility of trying to convert a gay person into a straight one. Alan Chambers, former leader of the biggest ex-gay groups called Exodus International, admitted that one's sexual orientation cannot be altered. Many other former leaders of such groups have admitted that queerness cannot be altered.

Most of them are now openly gay and have apologized for their past actions of promoting conversion therapy. All this leads me to believe that there is no point in practicing conversion therapy, since it not only harms one's mentality, but is also ineffective—even if one was willing to participate in conversion therapy.

We are all who we are, no matter what we are. But why is there such an astounding number of conversion therapy organizations with thousands of people experiencing conversion therapy at some point in their lives? This is because these organizations aren't offering conversion therapy for the greater good. According to the CNN article “Conversion Therapists: Lawsuit won't stop us,” conversion therapies may cost up to \$10,000 per year, making money off of desperate parents. It could be challenging for children to refuse conversion therapy, who could then be subjected to physical and verbal harassment, distress, humiliation, and self-denial. Such children are sometimes traumatized and scarred for life. This trauma can lead to increased thoughts, and attempts, of suicide. The Trevor Project notes LGBTQ youths' suicide attempt rates are 5 times higher than their heterosexual counterparts. According to an article in The Guardian, LGBTQ conversion therapy survivors are more than 8 times as likely to consider suicide compared to their peers. **Conversion therapy is not helping.**

Nowadays, queerness is more widely recognized and accepted than ever, as people have come to realize that queer people are just like everyone else. Queer is not convertible—people are not made the way cars are. And queer or not, we're all equal and should be treated with equal respect towards one another. Abolishing conversion therapy is another step towards achieving this goal.

The Trevor Project notes LGBTQ youths' suicide attempt rates are 5 times higher than their heterosexual counterparts, and LGBTQ conversion therapy survivors are more than 8 times as likely as those LGBTQ youths whose families have been less rejecting of their identities.

Disarming the Movement

How Disarm PSU Can Make a Real Difference

by Peter M. Wedlake

June 29th, 2018, the day many incoming freshmen (including myself) swarmed campus for orientation, Jason Washington was shot and killed by Portland State University campus police officers around 1:30 am on SW College St. between SW 6th Ave. and SW Broadway. Campus police were responding to a call of a disturbance near the Cheerful Tortoise. After about 11 seconds of confrontation, Mr. Washington was shot and later pronounced dead on site.

Following the incident, many PSU students and faculty became disenfranchised by the school and its 2014 policy, arming the campus police with handguns. Many students began to protest beginning on the first day of school, September 24th. By no means am I writing this trying to restrict or censor the voices of these students and faculty, nor am I necessarily disagreeing with their core principle belief that more firearms lead to more violence. What I am doing is pointing out that unless they change their rhetoric and tactics, Disarm PSU will fail; it will not be the beacon of change that they so seek as much as a blip in a city distracted by new protests every week.

The biggest mistake that Disarm PSU is making, in my opinion, is one traditionally made by novice community organizers; all they are doing is making noise. From my experience with community organization and protesting, it is very important to speak out and ensure that you are being heard. As the common adage goes, "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?" What Disarm PSU is doing right now is focusing on making a sound, rather than falling and

making a sound. What I mean by this is that Disarm PSU is worried so much about getting attention for their cause, that they have put the substance of what they are fighting for on the backburner. They offer few plans and instead, hope that their noise will compensate for that; it will not. Olivia Pace, one of the student organizers was quoted in an OPB article as saying, "We just want to plant ourselves here and say, 'You will not be able to operate at your office, just coming in and out, having people think that you are good police officers and that you're safe and that this is a place they can come if they feel unsafe.'" While I agree that students and faculty should feel safe going to the campus security office, much like the occupation of the ICE building in Portland, all it does is harm the people that are doing their jobs that had nothing to do with what people are protesting, or even worse, people who are genuinely seeking the services of that agency.

Taking a look back at history will show us how successful movements are cultivated. The first social movement that comes to mind would probably be the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Those that led the efforts against Jim Crow laws and segregation of the time did so with a plan and a map. Of course in history classes we gain a simplistic view of the movement and its people; they saw injustice, they marched, and it all worked out in the end. I fear that this representation in education leads people to believe that social movements are (relatively) short, and sweet. Social movements are complex beings; much like it takes a trained expert to help dissect a brain and offer remedies, the same rings true for social issues. The Civil Rights Leaders of the 1960s thought long past

the next month, the next year, or even the next decade; they had long-term plans and goals that understood that a movement cannot exist on excitement or loudness alone, it needs substance to succeed. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., for example, was in regular contact with President Johnson throughout the 1960s, as a result of this President Johnson heard Dr. King's stories of the horrible discrimination he faced just in trying to find places to live, this was directly translated to Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This provision made discriminatory housing practices illegal. For real change to get done, it meant meeting with people that disagreed with them, meeting with government officials, elected or not, trying to find feasible solutions. It meant knowing when to make compromises.

Compromise in today's vernacular has somehow turned itself into a negative term, one associated with losing. But I would argue the contrary, to compromise is in fact to win. By compromising you have successfully persuaded someone with undefined or even contrary beliefs not just to listen, but to act. One thing I learned very quickly working in the Oregon Legislature was that real change takes time. It sounds obvious but, for an example, I think you would be surprised at the number of middle age adults complaining that Oregon hasn't gone from about 15 percent renewable energy to 100 percent in just a few months. People, especially those not versed in the policy-making process, hold the false notion that any policy that takes small steps has an ulterior motive to create minimal change and then never address it again. They believe that the legislature will claim that they already fixed it. Instead,

these people wish to see grandiose, "small isn't enough," legislation shoved through the House and the Senate.

While there are absolutely instances of large problems being addressed only once with small legislation, the fact of the matter is that most grandiose legislation does exactly what these activists fear of smaller policy. For example, in 1986 the US Congress passed the Tax Reform Act of 1986, a sequel five years in the making to the Economic Recovery Act of 1981—these bills are what we now refer to as the "Reaganomic" tax cuts of the 1980s. As to not get too engrossed in federal tax policy, these bills lowered tax rates by up to 70% and closed many loopholes. By 1983 the federal deficit had begun to balloon but determined to not fault on one of his bigger campaign promises, President Reagan continued with his failed policy. It took seven years from the initial ballooning of the deficit for Congress to pass the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, which raised tax rates to try

and compensate for the inflamed deficit. This is a prime example of the legislature being more than willing to pass large-scale legislation and then not touch the subject for sessions, if not years, claiming that they already did what everyone wanted. Worse yet, the legislation might not be fully or even partially enforced, instead just acting as a false statue for something that was never truly accomplished. Whereas with smaller legislation and policy, it slowly builds on top of itself allowing time for the previous provisions to be properly enforced before adding more.

The problem with Disarm PSU in its current incarnation and with its current messaging is that it falls in the "this isn't enough" category that I previously described, but with a twist. Not only is any proposed idea not quite enough, but they also fail to properly offer an ideal policy and how to achieve it. While I might agree that it is unfair to make the people that bring light to a situation responsible for changing it, this is a standard that every

social movement has faced. As it currently stands, it is the responsibility of the party that sheds light on a topic or situation to also come back with a possible solution and what that solution would look like in practice. The only response Disarm PSU has is to, well, Disarm PSU. But what would that look like? No guns on campus police? No Tasers on campus police? No armed police officers on campus? What defines an "armed" officer and who makes that call?

If Disarm PSU fails to address these questions and fails to look at this movement as a marathon rather than the sprint they think it is, I fear that the core message will get lost in an overgrown forest of noise. Before they continue, I call on the Disarm PSU movement to create a centralized structure and to meet and discuss what their true goals are and how they can accomplish them. As a liberal Democrat from the Portland area with a family history at PSU, I truly hope that they take this advice, and succeed.

Portland State police patrolling the park blocks just outside the BOT meeting in Lincoln Hall on Oct. 4. photo by Jake Johnson



Examining Kavanaugh's Record

His Past Rulings Could Predict Our Nation's Future

by Margo Craig

Now that Brett Kavanaugh has been confirmed to the Supreme Court, it is helpful to turn to his judicial record while serving on the US Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit to anticipate how he will rule on the Court.

Regulatory agency independence

The predictable topics were covered in Judge Kavanaugh's confirmation hearings—presidential power, abortion, marriage equality, gerrymandering. However, there is one issue that could be equally important to the future of the democratic experiment that was not drawn out of Kavanaugh at the hearings: How do the regulatory agencies enforce their regulations? Important examples of regulatory agencies include the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration (which is meant to protect public health), and the Federal Trade Commission (whose role is to protect consumers and maintain a fair marketplace). It is important to the democratic process that these agencies remain independent.

Based on past statements, Kavanaugh would likely end the deference federal courts have traditionally given to regulatory opinion and interpretation and, in material ways, modify what is known as the doctrine of "Chevron deference." Chevron deference is named for a 1984 Supreme Court case that involved a dispute over the Environmental Protection Agency's interpretation of a provision of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977. Under Chevron, how an agency enforces and interprets its own statutes must be respected by the courts, unless that interpretation is "arbitrary, capricious, or manifestly contrary to the statute." In other words, in a dispute, the court must defer to how an agency interprets its own laws, as long as it's reasonable. Both Justice Kavanaugh and Justice Gorsuch are fierce critics of Chevron deference. Abandoning

it would allow courts to assume control over executive branch agencies. Chevron deference prevents judges from striking down agency policies according to their own regulatory policy preferences. This is a central pillar of administrative law and ensures administrative agencies the power to enforce and adjudicate the laws that they create. Kavanaugh characterized Chevron as "nothing more than a judicially orchestrated shift of power from Congress to the Executive Branch," and inherently problematic for the court to parse out what is "arbitrary." In what may prove to be a prophetic sentence, Kavanaugh wrote: "Perhaps in response to all of these criticisms, the Supreme Court itself has been reining in Chevron in the last few years."

Gun control

In 2011, Kavanaugh wrote an opinion defending the 2nd Amendment, characterizing certain gun regulations as unconstitutional. This was written in the wake of 2008's *District of Columbia v. Heller*; the Supreme Court ruled for the first time that the 2nd Amendment protects an individual's right to possess a firearm, unconnected with a militia, and bear arms for self-defense. However, the Court did conclude that the 2nd Amendment should not be understood as a "right to keep and carry any weapon whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for whatever purpose," noting that imposed conditions on the commercial sale of firearms would be considered "presumptively lawful." An appeal made it to Kavanaugh's court while serving on the D.C. Circuit where Kavanaugh outlined why he found gun regulations unconstitutional. His opinion placed him outside the margins of the conservative mainstream (in 2011).

He found the ban on semi-automatic handguns to be unconstitutional given that there is "no meaningful or persuasive constitutional distinction between semi-

automatic handguns and semi-automatic rifles;" he found the gun registration requirement unconstitutional; he objected to calling certain firearms "assault weapons," accusing others of using a "rhetorical term," and then suggested that handguns are the true assault weapons since they are "used far more often than any other kind of gun in violent crimes." In an ambiguous portion of his dissent, he wrote that "in order to apply *Heller's* test to this prohibition, we must know whether magazines with more than 10 rounds have traditionally been banned and are not in common use." While it seems that he may be amenable to banning large-capacity magazines, he emphasizes two conditions: proof that such a ban exists in historical convention (even though this firearm technology is relatively modern), and proof that the public doesn't use large-capacity magazines anymore. Kavanaugh shot down the argument that public safety concern in D.C. outweighed the constitutional right to bear arms.

Abortion

A recent dispute may indicate how Kavanaugh will rule on abortion cases in the future, and whether he will complicate reasonable access to an abortion or proceed to make a direct attack to *Roe v. Wade*. Linda Greenhouse wrote an opinion piece for the *New York Times* summarizing the Supreme Court's position on abortion leading up to a case last year, when a young immigrant woman (referred to as Jane Doe) was refused access to an abortion in a program administered by the Trump administration. Greenhouse explains how the Office of Refugee Resettlement dictates how federally funded organizations, such as the one that was housing Jane Doe, are run, and that they must ensure access to contraception and abortion. The ORR denied Jane Doe access to an abortion and detained her based on her status as an "undocumented unaccompanied minor," challenging the Supreme Court precedent

I
WENT
TO
YALE!





Besides his judicial record, allegations of sexual assault against him spawned several protests such as an action by PSU's International Socialist Organization on Oct. 4 between SMSU and Cramer

preserving the fundamental right of a woman to make an informed choice to pursue an abortion in an early stage (Roe v. Wade). Meanwhile, her third trimester was approaching, at which point an abortion would be illegal. In an unsigned order, presumably written by Kavanaugh, the state was given 11 days to find her a sponsor to take custody, so the government would not be seen as facilitating an abortion, nor be seen actively barring access to an abortion. However, the program reportedly had been looking for a sponsor for 6 weeks without success. Jane Doe ultimately won in appeals court and got an abortion the next day. Kavanaugh wrote a scathing dissent, arguing that the court created "a new right for unlawful immigrant minors in U.S. government detention to obtain immediate abortion on demand." Judge Millett, who ruled with the majority on the D.C. Circuit Court, responded: "Abortion on demand? Hardly. Here is what this case holds: a pregnant minor who (i) has an unquestioned constitutional right to choose a pre-viability abortion, and (ii) has satisfied every requirement of state law to obtain an abortion, need not wait additional weeks just because she—in the government's inimitably ironic phrasing—'refuses to leave' its custody. That sure does not sound like 'on demand' to me. Unless Judge Kavanaugh's dissenting opinion means the demands of the Constitution and Texas law. With that I would agree."

Kavanaugh's demeanor

Outside his judicial record, it is

important to analyze his statements and behavior during a historic, highly anticipated confirmation hearing; charged with sexual-assault allegations, Kavanaugh defended himself before the Senate Judiciary Committee, and was ultimately confirmed as a Supreme Court Justice. Both his defiant statements and angry temperament deserve scrutiny as part of a premeditated strategy to exploit the current polarized political climate ahead of the midterm elections. Kavanaugh denied the allegations and called the confirmation process a "national disgrace," singling out the Democratic members of the committee for behavior he called "an embarrassment." Despite a credible testimony from the accuser, Dr. Christine Blasey-Ford, Kavanaugh chose to characterize the hearings in this way: "This whole two-week effort has been a calculated and orchestrated political hit fueled with apparent pent-up anger about President Trump and the 2016 election, fear that has been unfairly stoked by my judicial record, revenge on behalf of the Clintons, and millions of dollars in money from outside left-wing opposition groups. This is a circus."

When questioned by the committee, his temperament was combative and clearly angry. He has since apologized for his behavior in an op-ed for the *Wall Street Journal*,

claiming he was an "independent, impartial judge," and characterizing his behavior as a product of his anger. However, days before in an interview with Fox News, he was calm, mild-mannered and even-toned, insisting three times, "I just want a fair process where I can be heard," when asked where he thought the contentious process regarding the allegations came from. There is a stark contrast between this interview and his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, so much so that it calls into question his claim that his controversial testimony was a result of passion. Michael S. Rosenwald, journalist for the *Washington Post*, described a clear parallel with Justice Clarence Thomas's 1991 confirmation hearing. Thomas, who was facing allegations of sexual harassment from a former employee, Anita Hill, accused the all-white judiciary committee of a "high-tech lynching for uppity blacks." Thomas was able to turn his confirmation hearing into a question of race, also before midterm elections when senators were extremely sensitive to charges of racism in the wake of the Rodney King riots.

Kavanaugh chose to ignite the Republican base to view challenges to his confirmation as a "conspiracy" from Democrats, placing pressure on senators to vote along party lines lest their base vote against them, and, in doing so, further polarizing the nation.

PSU ISO invited community members to sign a board that read, "We Believe Survivors," indicating that the community too believes survivors of sexual assault, including Kavanaugh's victim Dr. Christine Blasey Ford.



photos by Jake Johnson

Assassination Nation Asks:

Are You Okay With Being Triggered?

by Sydney McBee

If your movie taste includes *Kill Bill*, *Love Simon*, and *The Purge* you may absolutely love this movie. If you're wondering what *Kill Bill*, *The Purge*, and *Love Simon* have to do with each other, it's this movie.

Assassination Nation is about our generation, its obsession with the internet, being heard, and modern feminism. The film begins by listing trigger warnings including things like (but not limited to) sexism, racism, murder, sex, rape, and transphobia. The premise of the film includes a high school girl getting blamed for being a hacker who has leaked the entire town's personal information including illegal pictures. For those squeamish about blood, you can equate the violence level in this movie to almost every Tarantino film. The social media and LGBTQ influences are a more rated-R version of *Love Simon*, and the mass-murder/political undertones give off *Purge* vibes. Highly stylized movies are very in right now (i.e. *Sorry to Bother You* and *Skate Kitchen*), and when Bella Thorne is in a movie, you know it will be stylized. Expect hard cuts, split screens, voice-overs, as well as text being layered.

Straight white men might struggle to understand and relate to this film. It focuses on the troubles that minorities and all millennials face on social media and in politics. In this movie, no one's information is safe, and it really is about how an entire town decided they wanted to murder four innocent teenage girls for leaking information. There is a very strong bad-ass female presence throughout that is rarely portrayed in Hollywood (especially in such a gorey male-dominated category). The costuming in the film always added to the mood of the scenes, and the sound

editing was specifically overwhelming at points when the characters were also feeling overwhelmed. Female action scenes were unexpected and very rewarding. Many political statements were made in the movie that are relevant to current events, making them all the more important.

If you're looking for something that's in-your-face feminist, pro-LGBTQ, political, and vastly colorful, you're in for a wild ride with *Assassination Nation*.

Directed by Sam Levinson

Release date September 21, 2018

Starring Odessa Young, Abra, Suki

Waterhouse & Hari Nef

Rated R



Is It Really Just a Fantasy?

Why We Need to Start Thinking Critically about Porn

by Daniel J. Nickolas

Over the past few decades, pornography has transformed from a clandestine, niche industry to a booming online market that, according to sociologist Dr. Gail Dines, collectively receives more daily users than Netflix, Facebook, and Twitter combined. Sex really does sell. This fact isn't exactly shocking, as the personal use of hardcore pornography has become a (mostly) acceptable aspect of our culture; this is due in large part to both the easy accessibility of porn through the internet and the idea that porn is inherently harmless—so long as we recognize that the images we see in porn are only a fantasy. But what exactly do we mean by “fantasy”? As hardcore pornography becomes less taboo, the term “fantasy” increasingly becomes a scapegoat word, behind which one can find depictions of abuse, the sexualization of minors, and blatant racism. When we buy into the idea that porn is fantasy (in other words, not real), we dismiss what porn is saying about the real world. This dismissal of pornographic images and videos as “only fantasy” discourages us as a society and as individuals to critically examine the real influences mainstream pornography has on how we perceive our world.

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the fantasy concept is its ability to push the boundaries of what is considered acceptable content in both pornography and sexuality outside of the porn industry. The recognition that porn capitalizes on the degradation of women has been a strong argument against porn within the feminist movement since the 1970s. However, pornographic content featuring the degradation of women, especially through verbally demeaning or violent acts, is actually on the rise. An analysis of hundreds of randomly chosen, popular, pay-to-view adult videos conducted by psychologist Ana Bridges found that just under 90 percent of the videos contained aggressive physical or verbal acts toward the female performer. While Bridges definition of “aggressive” includes all potentially painful acts, it shows that



photo illustration by Zell Thomas

face slapping, intentional choking, and derogatory language are common. Far from being just a fantasy, other studies, like the one conducted by sociologist Dr. Michael Kimmel, have shown a stark increase over the years of heterosexual men asking their girlfriends/wives to incorporate degrading or aggressive acts into their sexual relationships. Even veteran adult film director Joe Gallant, in an interview for the documentary *The Price of Pleasure*, admitted, "I fear the future of American porn, might be violence."

Alongside sexual aggression against women is an increase in the infantilization of women.

The sexually curious yet sexually ignorant woman is not an uncommon character in adult entertainment, but the depiction of a woman's sexual ignorance in mainstream pornography is heading into disturbing territory. Burning Angel Films, an adult film company run by a woman, features a video in which the female character admits to being sexually assaulted by her own father at the age of five; not only is the character portrayed as having no conception of what happened to her, but this admission acts as the impetus for the man in the video to see the woman as a sexual object. While this example might seem extreme, adult films in which men treat women like less than adults are commonplace; even the ubiquitous use of terms such as "girl" for women and "daddy" or "sir" for men in adult films speaks to the prevalence of this problem. Even if the aforementioned video from Burning Angel Films was not commonplace, the fact that such a video was produced in the 21st century, in the United States, despite a decades-long fight against the infantilization of women in other aspects of our culture, should call into question the kinds of ideas that penetrate our psyche through porn's concept of fantasy.

The infantilization of women in pornography should not only raise concerns about the portrayal of women in porn, but also raise concerns about the portrayal of minors and children. A 2013 article from *The Huffington Post* reported that child pornography is one

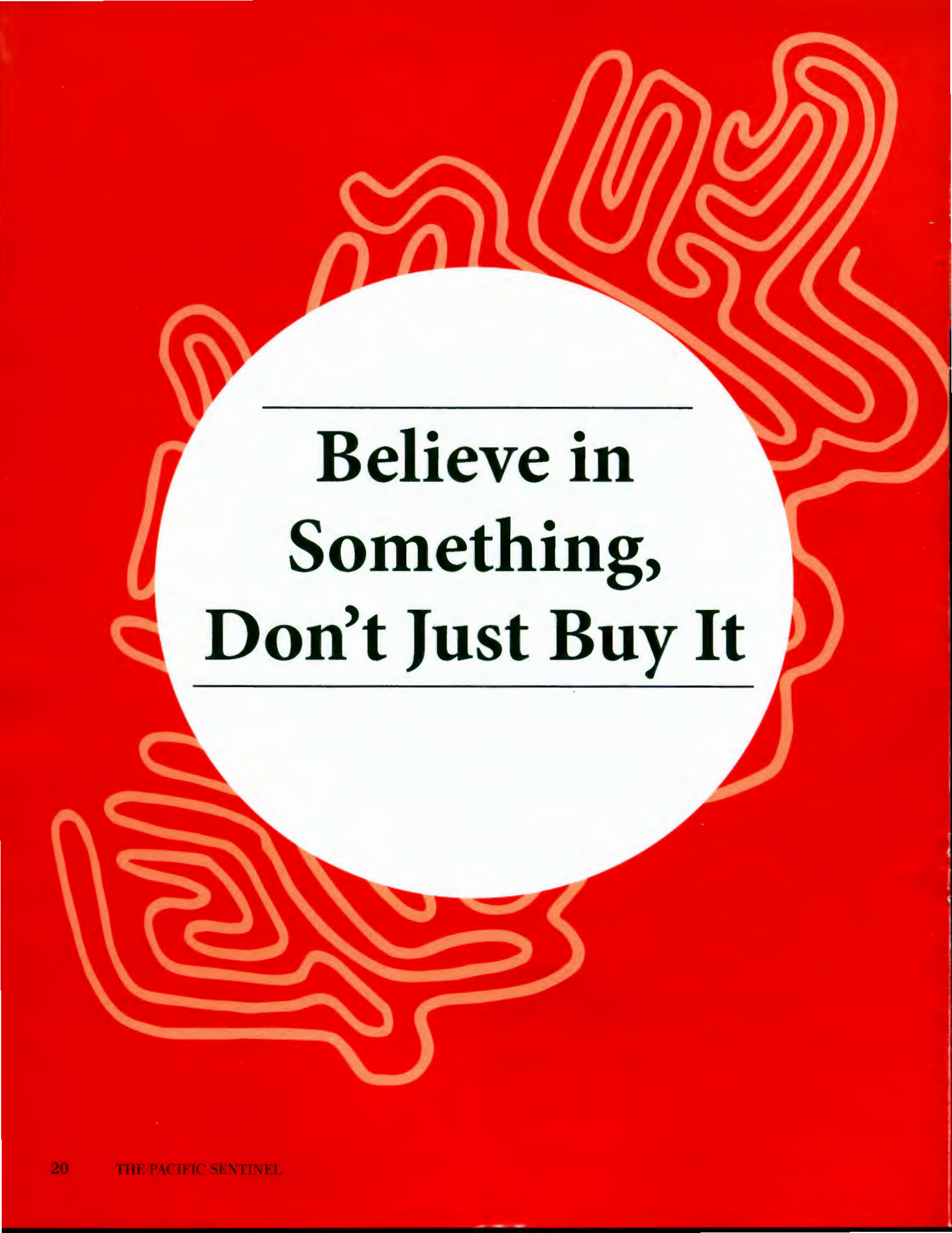
of the fastest growing online businesses. Furthermore, there is an unsettling trend in the normalization of child pornography in mainstream adult films. Laws have been established banning the use of minors in pornographic videos; however, these laws don't extend as far as one might suspect. The court decision in *Ashcroft v. The Free Speech Coalition* ruled that fully animated or fully CGI videos featuring sex acts of any kind are also allowed to depict minors of any age participating in those sex acts. This ruling led to further arguments stipulating that the portrayal of victimization is not actual victimization. In 2002, these discussions, spearheaded by The Free Speech Coalition, successfully repealed the law mandating that

adult film actors could not depict underage characters. In other words, it is legal for an adult film performer who looks 12 to play a 12-year-old character, so long as the performer is at least 18 in real life. The legality of this seems to suggest that there is a level of legitimacy, even acceptability, toward what is widely considered one of the most reprehensible crimes. Do we, as a society, really want this to be a part of our collective sexual fantasy? Porn's troubling depictions don't stop with women and children. As the fight against racism in the United States approaches its 200th year, extreme racial stereotypes remain prevalent in mainstream porn.

The commodification of ethnicity within mainstream porn is unapologetically racist; when videos that feature non-white performers are not depicting racial stereotypes, they are likely using the non-white ethnicity of that performer as a selling point of the video. This statement might sound like an overgeneralization, but it is a fact many adult entertainers are candid about. While conducting interviews with African American women working in the porn industry, Mireille Miller-Young reported that many of these women struggle their whole careers to find work outside of racially exploitative porn, or "ghetto porn," a common type of fetish pornography that purposefully features modern racial stereotypes of black people. Miller-Young sums up the experience of these women by stating, "Black women are devalued as hyper-accessible and super-disposable in

an industry that simultaneously invests in and marginalizes fantasies about black sexuality." Miller-Young does not come to this conclusion lightly; it comes after seven years of interviews with black adult-film performers and in-person observance of these women's lives in the industry. Despite this assertion, there is surprisingly little being done to solve the problem of racism in pornography. Once again, the concept of fantasy successfully makes society numb to depictions and practices that would cause social outrage if they existed as blatantly in any other part of our culture as they do in pornography.

It's worth stating that the intention of this article is not to be anti-pornography, nor is it a call to travel down the slippery slope of censorship; nonetheless, we need more prevalent and critical conversations about the current state of the porn industry. Just as slasher movies do not create serial killers, pornography does not create sexual deviants—but porn does desensitize. Take a moment to think about the fact that we live in a society where sexism, the sexualization of children, and blatant racism are all okay, just so long as they are labeled as "sexual fantasy." Doesn't this contradict everything we say we want our society to be? How, in light of recent movements such as Black Lives Matter and MeToo, can we collectively be okay with an aspect of our culture where the very antitheses of these movements are not only prevalently displayed, but sold to us with the implication that this is the way we like it? If sex is the one commodity that always sells, then it is time to start considering what this commodity is actually costing us.



**Believe in
Something,
Don't Just Buy It**

Who is Colin Kaepernick and what's all the fuss about?

by Van Vanderwall

The quarterback was twice awarded the Western Athletic Conference Offensive Player of the Year while playing for the University of Nevada at Reno. Signed by the San Francisco 49ers in the second round of the 2011 draft, he became the starting quarterback during the following season and led the team to Super Bowl XLVII. In that same season, he signed a deal with Nike, which entailed few high-profile appearances or endorsements until recently. With Kaepernick as starting quarterback, the team went to the NFC Championships in 2013.

This is where things start to get fiery. When the national anthem played before games in the 2016 season, Kaepernick kneeled to protest police brutality, systemic racial injustice, and a host of interrelated issues within the United States. These gestures drew the by-now predictable wrath of a certain short-fingered blustering buffoon, who referred to Kaepernick as "that son of a bitch." Following the 2016 season, Kaepernick ended his contract with the 49ers and entered the 2017 draft as a free agent; he was not picked up by any team, despite his player statistics placing him amongst most starting quarterbacks in the league. Kaepernick filed a suit against the NFL (still ongoing at the time of publication), alleging that owners and officials colluded to bar him employment due to his political activism.

Remember that little passing reference to a sport shoe company? This is where it comes around in a big way.

In early September of this year, Nike unveiled an advertising campaign marking the 30th anniversary of its iconic "Just Do It" slogan. The campaign spotlighted many of Nike's contracted athletes, but the most attention-grabbing pieces were a two-minute video hosted by Kaepernick and a stark black and white photograph portrait of Kaepernick's face captioned "Believe in something, even if it means sacrificing everything." Sadly predictable reactions ensued and were widely publicized and regurgitated all over every image-replicating technology platform. Many people, presumably conservative, documented themselves on various so-called social media platforms burning and otherwise defacing Nike gear, often with vague threats about the number of military veterans and/or true patriots in the United States of America.

The ad resuscitated some of the original controversy and leant fresh publicity to Kaepernick, but what about his original protest demands? Commentary by Forbes and other business publications, as well as the measurable outcomes over the next few days, belied the true result and aim of a seemingly controversial move: sell more Nike gear. The Guardian reported that after a brief hours-long dip in stock value after the release of the ads, sales both online and in Nike stores increased dramatically; Forbes quantifies the increase at 31%, though they offered no explanation of methods utilized to arrive at this number. After a short period of negatively affected stock prices and sales,

those numbers increased dramatically and remunerated Nike even more handsomely than in the normal course of events.

What about the plight of those who inspired the protests in the first place? Articles, reports, newscasts, blogs and all the other whatnot of news reported primarily on the value of the move for Nike's brand and how "bold" it is. What's so bold about coopting someone else's activism to make money without taking risks of one's own? Perhaps a small number of those upset by the ads will never again buy Nike gear. Or will they? They may say to each other, "Wouldn't it be great to buy some brand new shoes and post some videos online of us burning them?" Well, that's still technically a win for Nike in that the logic of capitalism dictates only that merchandise be sold; creating two camps of Nike customers—some that feel they are now social justice warriors on the front lines and some that feel they are protecting traditional American values (whatever that means)—has really only played a very shrewd game of targeting different demographics. The important thing to note is that both groups are buying Nike, they're just using the gear for different ends.

The key word describing both of those groups is "feel." What exactly does buying sporting goods have to do with social justice and human rights? There's been a lot of furor and posturing by consumers, but nothing has changed for the people most adversely affected by the problems that inspired Kaepernick's initial protest two years ago. And nothing will be changed

by similar ads that are sure to come now that advertising specialists have witnessed the effectiveness of the commodification of protest. Real change to the prison industrial complex, police brutality, systemic racism, racial inequity in professional sports (the NFL in particular), etc., requires a lot more than buying stylish shoes (whether you wear them or burn them). But the appropriation of protest just generates sales for the companies adopting the rhetoric and imagery.

Recall that word “consumer”? People are so accustomed to sales-speak that this term rarely elicits attention, but think about the definition of consumption; it is not to act or effect change, but merely to devour resources. That is precisely what happens by playing into the capitalist consumer/producer game, with the self-justifying assertion that it’s “your choice” or “expressing yourself” or some such nonsense. A company’s first and only responsibility, as dictated by capitalism (and borne out by Nike’s own checkered history with respect to labor, wages, sweatshops and more), is simply to make as much money as possible. That’s it. If Nike is genuinely the best shoe for your training regimen, fine; don’t kid yourself that a flashy ad and your expensive purchase are helping you “be the change you wish to see.”

Other than sales for Nike, the only other salient effect is a subtler one: allowing the consumption mindset to creep into all areas of life only serves to reinforce status quo corporate capitalism. This makes radical change less, not more, likely. It also strengthens the class divisions that make these problems so intractable at present. Consumers (not supporters) of a cause buy products and conclude that they’ve somehow lived up to their ideals and made an impact; all they’ve done is support Nike

(Just Buy It) and decided to ignore the problem since the purchase constitutes “doing something.” In this manner, an ever larger segment of society maintains its ignorance of complicated and longstanding issues that do not directly affect them. Everything becomes subsumed in the brightly colored illusory world of ads, brands, social media, consuming, etc., while the real world—where we actually live—gets ignored. Let us not go down this path any further, but turn back, change ourselves, and step out of the consumer-activist trap.

What now? Maybe the ad ignited some feeling, some drive in you. Perhaps this article or another piqued your interest in working for change in a meaningful way. Good. You can still buy some Nike shoes, but don’t stop there. Research the organizations to which Kaepernick is donating money. Read and listen to other activists, living and dead, who have addressed the same issues—some of whom are far too radical to ever show up on a billboard or in your social media news feed. Contact local organizations and get involved with them.

Go further.

Don’t just buy it; go do it.

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Don't just buy it; go do it

Shock & Resistance in Puerto Rico

Naomi Klein's latest book *Battle for Paradise*

by Matthew Neil Andrews

Naomi Klein writes two kinds of books. There's the big books: *No Logo* (1999), *The Shock Doctrine* (2007), and *This Changes Everything* (2014). The middle one, a generalized examination of disaster capitalism and its tactics; the earlier book, an analysis of one specific exploitative tool—branding—and the economic systems which wield it and depend upon it; the latter book, a detailed look at global climate chaos and the systems which cause and exploit it.

All three are dense but digestible tomes, well-sourced and well-argued, transparently biased but non-partisan, deeply critical and deliberately optimistic. Klein tells relatable stories about exploitation and its discontents, and backs it all up with massive bibliographies and detailed endnotes. You can breeze through any of these in a couple days, and then spend the next year following up on her research.

Then there's the small books, of which *The Battle for Paradise* (2018) is the latest. As in her other recent book, *No Is Not Enough* (2017), Klein eschews the grander, more formal method of her earlier books for case studies which build on and illuminate the bigger picture, making compact, immediate pleas to the consciences and intellects of her readers. In *The Battle for Paradise*, she writes about Hurricane Maria's impact on the struggle between the citizens of Puerto Rico and the "Puertopians"—wild-eyed disaster capitalists bent on remaking

the strip-mined and hurricane-wrecked archipelago for their own luxuriant, tax-dodging purposes.

Klein is not afraid to take sides, and doesn't pull her punches. You may end up disagreeing with much of what she says, but you will at least understand exactly where she's coming from. Her writing is impassioned and detailed: she avoids generalities, instead discussing real people and real organizations, letting their words and actions speak for themselves.

We meet Arturo Massol-Deyá, a "bearded biologist" who runs Casa Pueblo, the solar-powered "community and ecology center" that became a beacon—politically and literally—when its solar microgrid made it the only place with working electricity for miles around. Klein relates Casa Pueblo's history while recording what Massol-Deyá has to say about Maria and its aftermath, Puerto Rico's continuing history of colonialism, and the possibilities for resistance and renewal that disaster can bring to those who are determined to survive it.

We meet another set of determined developers, our story's villains: a coterie of politicians, corporate miscreants, and libertarian billionaires bent on buying up evacuated land and turning it into a utopia of low taxes, cryptocurrency mining, and piña coladas. Here we meet such characters as Department of Economic Development and Commerce Secretary Manuel Laboy Rivera, promoting business-friendly policies to a conference of crypto-

entrepreneurs, and Governor Ricardo Rosselló, calling Maria's devastation a "blank canvas."

Klein traces the struggle between Puerto Rican community organizers and disaster capitalism, from pre-Maria years of privatization schemes, military and industrial testing, and austerity policies up through post-Maria struggles to retain and reclaim local sovereignty, autonomy, and sustainability. In only 80 pages—no endnotes, no bibliography—Klein lets Puerto Ricans tell their stories, shines a spotlight on their defeats and successes, and demonstrates how shock and resistance are playing out right now, in one very near corner of our world.

Little Cow Pigeon

A Campus Oddity

by Shane Johnson

You may have glimpsed it from the corner of your eye, a blur of white movement along the sidewalk as you walk to class. You may not even remember the encounter, its quick movements relegated to the depths of your subconscious. It has admirers by the hundreds, strangers who walk among you, unknowingly united by a single creature. It is a pigeon unlike the rest.

Dubbed "Little Cow Pigeon" due to its distinct white plumage with large black spots, reminiscent of a stereotypical dairy cow, the unique bird can be regularly spotted on campus at Portland State University. The Urban Plaza, Karl Miller Center, and PSU's park blocks are all frequent Cow Pigeon hangout spots.

Cow Pigeon's ascent to public figure status began in November 2017, when the @littlecowpigeon instagram account was created. Flyers began appearing around campus, reading "Have You Seen This Bird?" and directing viewers to instagram.

"I suppose the first mention of Little Cow Pigeon came about summer of 2017 when a few of us studying at PSU brought up this pigeon we saw on campus often randomly, that was strikingly black and white," says the account's creator, who wished to stay anonymous. "For some reason we all knew this pigeon and coined it the Cow Pigeon."

It's a similar story for many fans of the account. Exclamations of "that does sound familiar" or "I was just thinking of that bird last week!" are common when introducing the uninitiated to Cow Pigeon. Curious interest gradually becomes an emotional

connection with the bird as users follow its antics online. When Cow Pigeon developed a limp last spring, many followers expressed concern for its wellbeing and collectively sighed relief when the limp passed.

The account's creator, a PSU film major who graduated last year, assumed the account would come to an end when they moved out of state after graduating. But "LCP," as many followers lovingly refer to the bird, "has gained enough attention that the PSU community sends in content on the regular keeping the account alive and active even from a distance," they said. "I created this account to see if anyone else at PSU had an encounter and cared, and people did, crazy huh?"

"Following Cow Pigeon on Instagram and in real life has gotten me interested in the pigeon behavior patterns that I've overlooked for so many years," said PSU student Alejandro Matias. "Darwin would be proud," he joked.

I spoke to Dr. Michael T. Murphy, a Professor of Biology at PSU who specializes in working with birds, to find out more about Little Cow Pigeon. An ecologist by training, his experience with birds entails about 40 years of field research on a variety of different species, principally Eastern Kingbirds, as well as his position as curator of birds at Portland State's Museum of Natural History.

Dr. Murphy confirmed that the striking black-and-white bird is specifically a Rock Pigeon, a common species with an incredibly wide distribution across the world. Introduced to North America by humans in the early 1600s, it has been extremely successful, with estimates of tens of millions of Rock Pigeons in the United States and Canada alone.

According to Dr. Murphy, seeing Cow Pigeon frequenting certain spots on campus is not uncommon. "They have a

fairly well prescribed area that they're going to live within, and they've got stable social relationships," he said. "Males and females will pair up and they will stay together for long periods of time." Rock Pigeons have the potential to breed year-round, usually hatching two eggs at a time and will reuse a nest for many offspring.

However, there is no clear way of knowing Cow Pigeon's sex without getting a closer look. "We can't tell externally whether it's male or female unless we had it in hand," Dr. Murphy explained. "Testes are internal in birds, and there is no penis. And the plumages are similar to identical. If we knew where the bird was nesting we could check incubation patterns; males typically incubate during the day and females at night—but it may not even be breeding right now."

"Despite the fact they are so common, there's still a lot we don't know about their actual behavior, because it's an introduced species, and people don't pay a whole lot of attention," he said. "It's not found out in the wild [here], it's not threatened, it's living amongst us, but we walk around them all day long and we don't really pay all that much attention to them—unless they look a little odd."

As for Cow Pigeon's certainly odd coat, Dr. Murphy was fortunately able to provide a fascinating, and complicated, explanation.

"As it turns out, these pigeons have been the subject of a lot of study about the genetics of coloration," he said. "We probably know more about that in these guys than any other bird species, and it's because we can bring them into the lab, we can breed them, and they're really cooperative around people. Geneticists back by the 1920s–30s had actually worked out a lot of the basis for this color pattern. And what it turns out to be is, there's several complicating factors."



photo illustration by Jake Johnson



Dr. Murphy poses with Ostrich skeleton.
Photo: Shane Johnson

Dr. Murphy explained there are several factors that go into creating Cow Pigeon's plumage. Rock Pigeons have separate genes on separate chromosomes for both color variation and pattern variation. The color gene has three different forms, called alleles. It is also sex-linked in such a way that females only get one copy of the gene, but males have two, resulting in dominant and recessive alleles in the latter sex. Males can exhibit a lot of variation in color, but females will likely show more variation, because they've only got one allele and they're always going to express it.



A Rock Pigeon's pattern—how the colors are expressed over the body—is determined by an unrelated gene, on a non-sex-linked chromosome. The pattern allele has six different variations.

"Now you've got two different genes, three different color possibilities, six different pattern possibilities, and when you bring that all together, you get this potential to create an incredibly variable set of plumages." But all these genetic factors

still don't add up to create Cow Pigeon quite yet.

"On top of all that, the white that you see there is actually the result of the failure of pigment cells to be put down in the skin" Dr. Murphy noted. That doesn't mean Cow Pigeon is an albino, but rather a leucistic bird. This occurs when certain pigment cells called melanocytes are not deposited while it is developing as an embryo. If it were a true albino, its eyes and feet would not have pigments in them. "So this guy, on top of all of that chromosomal stuff and different copies of genes—boom—a failure to develop properly. It didn't get the pigment cells laid down where it should've been." All this conspires to produce an exceptionally rare bird.



Dr. Murphy thought it was worth noting further that such variety of coloration is also the result of humans selecting for these different color patterns in various ways. "The diversity is there but it's not normally expressed in nature. But when we get them under our human-dominated conditions where we have these feral populations, the different varieties that humans have selected over the years are able to emerge."

In regions with truly wild rock pigeon colonies, they don't show this same range of variation in one single population. "As it turns out, with their wide geographic distribution, if you move from a southern location along the Mediterranean and northward into higher and higher latitudes, coloration gets darker. So they do exhibit that kind of variation, but these multiple different color patterns is quite unusual for wild birds."

Dr. Murphy noted that in nature, a bird like this would be even rarer and probably not survive long, as it would attract a predator's attention more easily by sticking out from the rest of its kind. Even at PSU, Cow Pigeon isn't going to be around forever. Once Rock Pigeons reach adulthood, there's "a 65% chance of survival from one year to the next, so that

means if you had a population of 100, after about 5 years, there'd only be about 11 out of 100 surviving, on average, so most of them aren't going to live more than four or five years."

"Given the world they live in, they do quite well, and they couldn't be stupid animals to be doing so well. They can learn quite a bit, and they certainly can learn that humans can be trained to feed them." Dr. Murphy emphasized that while we may view them simply as stupid pigeons, they're far from it. "Behaviorists have studied [Rock Pigeons], and they exhibit some behaviors in standard trials which actually indicate they're probably a little more intelligent than cats."

And perhaps Darwin really would be proud of Cow Pigeon's notoriety. Rock Pigeons were instrumental in influencing Charles Darwin in his understanding of how selection could work. "He did breed them to produce different varieties, and it helped him to formulate the notions of how different varieties could appear and then come to dominate in the population."

Towards the end of our discussion, Dr. Murphy had a message for Cow Pigeon's followers. "Kudos to those folks who saw this specific bird and paid attention but realize the other birds around there are worthy of your observation too," Dr. Murphy said. "We take them for granted most of the time, but this particular species has contributed a whole lot to science and our understanding of the world. From how natural selection works, to how organisms navigate using magnetic fields, to how we learn [about genetics], they really contributed considerably. We kind of find them a pain in the neck sometimes, but that's pretty cool."



"I think the big message might be, life is all around you. Even though we live in an urban environment and we exclude a lot of the creatures that would otherwise be here, there's still a lot of life here worthy of our attention." The so-called Little Cow Pigeon just happens to be one very noticeable example.



Oliver Meadors, Alex Herrera, and Donald Thompson III hold #DisarmPSU protest sign at the Sept. 24 Rally. photos by Jake Johnson

Navy Vet Killed by Campus Police: #DisarmPSU Responds

A good guy with a gun was killed by another good guy with a gun

by Jake Johnson

On June 29, Navy veteran and postal worker Jason Washington was killed by Portland State campus police officers. A grand jury chose not to indict the officers involved. Portland State University Student Union responded on the first day of 2018–2019 school year with a #DisarmPSU protest that marched through the Park Blocks leading to a rally in front of the Campus Public Safety Office. The rally kicked off a 10-day occupation of CPSO, culminating in a nearly four-hour long PSU Board of Trustees meeting where students, faculty, staff, and the community at large took turns informing the trustees of their overwhelming support for the disarming of campus police.

Washington was shot 9 times by police who fired 17 bullets

Around 1:30 a.m. on June 29, 2018,

Jason Washington was trying to break up a fight on SW College St. between SW Sixth Ave. and SW Broadway when PSU Campus Police Officers James Dewey and Shawn McKenzie arrived on the scene. One of the officers grabbed Washington's arm and told him he needed him to back up. Washington fell to the ground and a gun fell from a holster on his hip. The officer noted Washington had a gun. Washington realized the gun had fallen on the ground, he picked it up and started walking away. There is a three second window at this point where one of the officers shouts, "Drop the gun! Drop the Gun! We will shoot you!" Then the officers immediately unload 17 shots. Not three seconds after the officer tells Washington to drop the gun or they will shoot him. Three seconds from the moment when the "d" in the first "drop the gun" to the moment when shots begin to ring out.

Within 32 seconds of opening the car doors to exit their police vehicle, officers Dewey and McKenzie had fired 17 rounds at Washington, hitting him 9 times—including in the right side of his neck and left cheek. The other eight bullets missed Washington and, fortunately, the several other people who were in the area because of the scuffle. Washington was a Navy veteran, he possessed a valid concealed permit, and he was a Black man.

The PSU BOT added armed and deputized Portland State University Police to campus in 2014. PSU students and faculty, at the time and since, have largely denounced CPSO carrying lethal weapons and warned the decision would mean the killing of an innocent person, probably a person of color—and that person would probably be a Black man. This summer, that warning became a tragic reality.

His friends and family erected a memorial in the area of his death. The memorial was full of American flags, photos, and messages on a gate to the Broadway building. They wrote messages on the pillar Washington was standing next to when he was shot. In August, the family was told by the university they needed to remove the items from the gate. On Aug. 17, Washington's family complied and took the memorial down, but the pillar's written messages remained—until 6:30 a.m. Aug. 23, when a man with a pressure washer cleaned them off.

#DisarmPSU occupies CPSO

On Sept. 24, PSU's fall term began and PSUSU's #DisarmPSU campaign initiated occupation of CPSO after a rally. The rally saw speakers including Washington's family, friends, a co-worker, students, and other community members including Portland City Council candidate Jo Ann Hardesty. During the rally, students held signs and passed out information including the campaigns three demands: "1. Disarm all PSU officers now, 2. Fire officers McKenzie and Dewey for murdering Jason, 3. Establish a permanent memorial to Jason that is led by his family."

One of Washington's daughters spoke while trying to hold back tears. "He was the best dad, husband, grandfather, friend," she said. "I know we can't bring him back—but I really wish I could. But they can do better... It hurts so bad. It hurts to lose someone—but it's so much worse that he was taken over nothing...He did what he always did, to protect his friends; that's all he wanted to do. He was shot in the back. Before this, I wanted to give benefit of the doubt to police officers also, but you can't. They target minorities; this is so obvious. He did everything right, and he was still shot."

Washington's wife Michelle and their daughters spoke about who Jason Washington was: He was the kind of guy that would go out of his way to shake the hands of police officers and thank them for their service. Michelle Washington said her last communication from her husband was through a text message he sent to let her know he called an Uber to pick him up. One of his daughter's said even if he knew he'd get shot by police while breaking up a fight, he still would have tried, because that's just who he was.

"It's not 1940; it's 2018 and innocent people are still being shot in the back," said Kevin Rhea, a friend of the family. "I lost a nephew to Nazis in San Francisco 22 years ago, and my dad said at the time, 'It won't stop.' He was at a bar having a beer with his softball team and he walked out, and a group of neo-Nazis grabbed him, put his head on a curb, and chinned him. And I thought, 'You know what, I don't want my daughter, my nieces, my nephews, to grow up and see this stuff happen.'"

He said his 15-year-old daughter called him while she was in Paris to tell him her friend's father was just shot. "I felt like I was shot. We all should feel like we've been shot—because at some point, you might be shot—and if your skin is a little bit darker, the odds of you getting shot, guess what, they just went up...My daughter is Chinese...she might get shot; our Native Americans are getting shot."

Between speakers, the crowd chanted Jason Washington's name and "shame on you" directed at both the CPSO office and the university. Associated Students of PSU Student Fee Committee Chair Donald Thompson III criticized the university's lack of urgency in its response. "All of these demands could be met right now...by this man right here [pointing at Campus Safety/

Campus Police Chief Donnell Tanksley]," he said. "If you look at the policy manual for this university...that is produced by a corporation that produces 90 percent of the policy manuals, it tells them that it's okay to use force the way that they did. Inside that policy manual it says that Donnell Tanksley, the director of the Campus Public Safety Office, can direct them to disarm. He can do that right now—if he wanted to. If that is what the university wanted to do. If they wanted to respond to the necessity of this movement, they would—but for them it's about money."

PSUSU organizer Olivia Pace stood near Thompson, nodding in agreement and surveying the scene. The crowd asked Thompson who could order police to disarm. "Donnell Tanksley; or his boss Kevin Reynolds," he responded. "That's a funny thing: the Campus Public Safety Office is a sub-department of the finance and administration department of the university. His immediate peers—the people who have the same boss as him—are our treasurer, our campus planner, the people who decide how money is spent. What the BOT and President Shoureshi are trying to do is use the same money that you pay to go to this university to use Margolis Healy—a firm that measures whether or

The Washington family holding protest signs and listening to speakers at the Sept. 24 rally





Olivia Pace announces #DisarmPSU's occupation of CPSO at Sept. 24 rally.

not you are within average compliance of every other university that's out there shooting people wantonly. They're gonna pay them, to give us a free pass; they're gonna pay OIR [another consulting firm] to give them a free pass. That's what our dollars go towards. That's what our taxes go towards." Someone in the crowd shouted: "That ain't right."

"It isn't right," Thompson responded. "For them it is completely about 'how expensive is it going to be to absolve ourselves of responsibility for a murder that we could have prevented.' That is unacceptable. Until we have a body of democratically elected members of our own community—not people who have enough money to be recognized as powerful by this governor of our state; people who aren't friends with the president of our university—it is only at that point that we can have a safe community, that we can begin building towards that."

"As long as 11 of the 14 members of our governing body don't have offices here, don't have a reason to be here," Thompson continued, "that have no fear about getting shot by the police because they will never encounter them—or because they're white," "and rich," Pace added. "And rich," Thompson echoed in agreement. "How can we expect them to understand what it's like to be us? We can't. And so remember: Donnell Tanksley, his boss Kevin Reynolds, his boss President Rahmat Shoureshi those three people could, right now, at this moment say 'Our policy is different. We respect the people who live here and know what it's like to be here, and we're gonna take away the guns.'"

The occupation served as an educational tool for PSUSU, which

communicated regularly with the Washington family to make sure PSUSU's #DisarmPSU campaign aligned with what the family wanted. Through the camp and volunteers across campus, PSUSU passed out fliers informing students and community members about why they felt it was important these demands be met immediately and that concerned community members should attend the PSU BOT meeting on Oct. 4 and tell them to disarm.

During the occupation, several protesters alleged CPSO officers made rather passive-aggressive taunts; including that the media didn't care, and once while bringing an individual past the occupation in handcuffs, told the detained person to "say hello to your friends [the occupiers]." However, the occupation was peaceful, and occupiers remained compliant with CPSO demands to maintain a clear path through the accessibility ramp and up the stairs leading to the doors of the CPSO office. The occupation was covered by most, if not all, local media outlets including *PSU Vanguard*, *OPB*, *The Oregonian*, *Portland Tribune*, *Portland Mercury*, *Willamette Week*, *KOIN*, *KATU*, *KGW*, *KBOO* and globally syndicated *Democracy Now!*

The occupation was supported with food donations, largely by individuals, but businesses—including *Revolución Coffee House* and the occupation's very close neighbors *Green Zebra* and *Coco Donuts*—also donated food and coffee. *Coco Donuts*' manager shrugged when asked about the donations, saying sometimes they just had extra donuts at the end of the day.

Olivia Pace is an organizer with PSUSU's #DisarmPSU and addressed a few of the main concerns about the occupation.

"This is not a gun control issue," Pace said. "This is centered around the power of campus police, not guns." Pace said she believes Washington was using his weapon and his presence the way students hope police officers would respond—and yet he was killed for it. "We [PSUSU] don't support the incrimination of acts which are not violent."

Pace believes the answer to those concerned with whether the campus would be safe without armed officers lies in the fact that PSU was safe prior to arming officers. Many people are concerned by how PSU can be safe when a situation arises where you might need officers with guns, like an active shooter situation; but Portland Police Bureau is located just three minutes away, and frequently officers are even closer. However, PPB's guns don't make everyone comfortable. In an unrelated event to #DisarmPSU, PPB shot and killed Patrick Kimmons in Northwest Portland nearly one week into the #DisarmPSU occupation in the early morning of Sept. 30. Officers in Kimmons' case also fired many shots: 10–12.

Oct. 4 BOT meeting

The BOT meeting was full of energy from the audience toward the trustees, who sat in their chairs while students spoke. Most members didn't engage students except to tell speakers their allotted speaking time was up, for which most of the audience would chant, "Let them speak." The meeting was moved to Lincoln Performance Hall to accommodate a much larger attendance than the meeting's original location has capacity for. For the first few hours, even the larger space was at least close to capacity. PSUSU submitted a hefty petition: over 5,000 physical and over 2,000 digital signatures in support of disarmament.

Faculty, students, and community members spoke out against the BOT's 2014 decision to arm officers. Speakers reminded the BOT that despite overwhelming opposition, the BOT armed officers anyway. Speakers reminded the BOT that in 2014 they knew campus police would shoot someone they shouldn't, and they did. Many echoed #DisarmPSU's three demands to make sure the BOT and anyone watching the event had no confusion about what the students were hoping would happen.

School of Gender, Race and Nations Director Dr. Winston Grady-Willis informed the BOT of several faculty within SGRN's stance on #DisarmPSU. "We absolutely support the demands of the PSUSU students and, additionally, we thank you for recognizing the significance of the moment..." he said. "We also called for, in our most recent statement, you to seriously consider an immediate disarming of CPSO officers until both the independent consulting firm and the advisory group here on campus speak to you in terms of their reports and their findings."

"Just want to reiterate something that several folks have said already, in terms of acknowledging the significance of the work of PSUSU," he continued. "Those of us who come from activist traditions, we know that power concedes nothing without a demand as Frederick Douglass so correctly noted before. And the one thing that I really want to stress that sometimes gets on some of us: Some of us may think that it's kinda easy to take a stand or to occupy a plaza, it's not easy at all...There is a courage, there is a sacrifice, there's a willingness to literally put yourself in harms way—which is what these activists and community members are doing—that cannot be underscored."

"Some of you may be concerned that if there's a decision to immediately disarm, that that would be a concession, that that might be perceived as giving ground," Grady-Willis continued. "And I would just like to stress that in terms of a short view of Portland State's history, that could be the case. But when you look at the long history of the institution, the fact on the ground has been that CPSO officers have not been armed...It's an incredibly daunting task to try to imagine—in this militarized moment with respect to police forces, not only nationally, but around the world—CPSO officers not being armed, but I think that there's something in the marrow of our bones here as an institution that can actually allow us to imagine that that really could happen."

"A number of us in SGRN have come out with two statements, bedrock support of this movement—but there are individuals even within our school who believe that arming CPSO actually is important," he continued. "And so, I would encourage all of us, and particularly you members of the BOT: Lift up the difficult—but far from impossible—idea that CPSO

officers can be unarmed on the one hand, but that everyone in this community can feel safe, just as that happens."

Olivia Pace addressed the BOT as well. "The fact that you're offering condolences and then asking the family to come up and speak when you didn't warn them beforehand, coming here acting like you're sorry—a few of you got bandanas because you are the ones that voted this policy through that killed Jason Washington—it's disgusting," Pace said to the board. "You're not sorry. If you were sorry you would have listened like five years ago...I'm a member of Portland State University Student Union. I'm a childcare worker on this campus. This is my fifth year at this school. I am one of the students who have been sleeping and working day in and day out at the occupation for Jason outside of our Campus Public Safety Office for the last 10 days. I am very very tired."

"I demand that you disarm campus security," Pace continued. "I demand that you fire officers Shawn McKenzie and James Dewey for murdering Jason Washington. I demand that you erect a permanent memorial to Jason Washington on our campus. I'm not here today to try to appeal to you on the basis of morality one more time. I'm not going to try to convince you of why the decision to arm our campus police was a bad idea. You know my stance, and the general stance of the students, staff, and faculty on this campus very well; there is no need to mull over it again. At the same time, I am certain that those of you that voted in favor of an armed campus security did it out of the financial interests of this institution and what you might be able to gain from those—not out an the idea that implementing this policy would make students' lives safer."

"Do I think most of you have illusions that a higher amount of policing in a community creates more safety? Yes. Do I think that the higher chance of investment and money for development that will come to PSU in the wake of an armed campus police force was your main incentive? Also yes."

"I only have one question to pose to you today: What is this worth?" Pace asked. "What is maintaining this policy worth to all of you? Is it worth having another uproar on campus? Is it worth having students sleeping on the front steps of the campus safety office? Is it worth having those students getting sick? Is it really worth the hit to PSU's reputation? Is it worth the 24-hour news cycle showing up on campus every day? Is it worth somebody's life? Is it worth standing up here and defending somebody's life being taken away? This is the fifth year of the Disarm PSU movement. Saying the community has spoken is an understatement. The student union has gathered thousands of signatures representing more people than have ever been polled on this issue by our administration, or the board, or ASPSU—in only eight days."

"The idea that an independent review is needed in order to get insight on what to do is a farce. That's ridiculous; you know how we feel," Pace said. "You know what the people who actually run this campus want. This is a place of scholarship, so why do we need to bring in another set of outsiders? You are all already outsiders."

"We have held rally after rally, interview after interview, march after march. We have watched somebody die because of this policy—and don't try and evade your responsibility for that fact. Somebody died on PSU police's watch after our community, for years, said that this would be the exact situation we would find ourselves in if we had armed campus police deployed to this campus. Why did it take somebody dying for you to even consider [Pace used air quotes] 'wrestling with the

PSU students and community members talk at #DisarmPSU occupation's information table





Trustees Pete Nickerson, Margaret D. Kirkpatrick, Gregory Hinckley, and PSU President Rahmat Shoureshi listening to students, Oct 4, 2018

issue again? Why does it have to be after somebody died on this campus? Why do we have to occupy the front of CPSO? Why are we still here? This is ridiculous. You all look ridiculous.”

“Our power is growing, our campaign is growing, our numbers are growing, our determination is growing, your power is weakening,” Pace said. “The days are gone of you making us look like immature students with fringe ideas. We are part of a convention of student movements working in conjunction with contemporary civil rights movements. We have a simple belief that those who make a community work should be the ones with the loudest and most important voice on the method as it’s created to keep a community safe. I ask you, in the era of Trump and everything horrific that has preceded it and come out of it, what side of history would you like to be on? If you choose to continue to fight this battle, you will lose.

“It is the students who learn here, do research here; it is the staff who work here, who make the food, who run the housing, who take care of people’s children; and the faculty who teach us to use our voices, teach us to call your authority into question. It is all of those forces against you. So, you’re gonna lose...Somebody has died on your watch, on the watch of every board member who voted yes on this policy. It is time for you to give it up. You can either continue to perpetuate the corporatization of the public university and turn a blind eye to a family who has lost their husband, father, brother, grandfather,

best friend; or you can save yourselves the further embarrassment, make yourselves look like heroes, stand up in the face of what everybody in this community and across the country has correctly identified as another case of racist police violence. Whether this battle continues or ends, it’s in your hands. Look at what you have created [Pace pointed to the crowded room]. Is it really worth all of this? Say his name. [crowd shouts Jason Washington]. Say his name. [Jason Washington]. Say his name! [Jason Washington]. I have 648 more signatures for you that you’re gonna hand off to Antonio [student trustee member Antonio Leiva] because you want to pass it off to him, but you have to deal with this, and you’re going to lose if you don’t listen to us soon.”

Many speakers criticized the trustees and President Rahmat Shoureshi for not engaging more with students and the Washington family. Several speakers said that of the BOT only Tony, the BOT student trustee, had come by the camp to talk to them. Some speakers said that Shoureshi would take the long way around to avoid speaking with students and community members who were occupying CPSO. President Rahmat Shoureshi has initiated outside investigations despite the grand jury decision—consulting firm Margolis Healy is looking into campus public safety policies and OIR Group is examining the shooting itself.

Far from being attended solely by PSU students, University of Oregon student leadership and Oregon Student

Association members attended the meeting to support disarmament. A letter from Lane Community College students in support of #DisarmPSU was read aloud by ASPSU’s CPSO Ad Hoc Committee member Camilo Assad. After the meeting was over, the majority of non-PSU BOT members left promptly. Sho Dozono, Erica Bestpitch, ASPSU President Luis Balderas-Villagrana, and student member Tony Leiva stayed to listen while trustee and PSU Associate Professor Maude Hines conversed with #DisarmPSU organizer Olivia Pace, who was then sitting on the stage asking what else the BOT needed to realize the immediate necessity to disarm.

In response to the support #DisarmPSU has received from other colleges and universities, Donald Thompson III emphasized at an ASPSU CPSO Ad Hoc Committee meeting the need to prioritize support for other institutions and their campaigns to disarm when their time comes. This spirit of coalition building and mutual support appears consistent in all aspects of the campaign to disarm campus police, not only in PSU between students, student groups, and faculty, but also in state- and nationwide calls for the removal of guns from security on educational campuses.

PSUSU disbands occupation but movement continues

Students left the BOT meeting, protested, went back to CPSO, and voted to disband the occupation. PSUSU organizer Kaitlyn Dey talked about the decision to disband. “Before we even started the occupation, we had talks about ending it and how we wanted to end it,” Dey said. “Because we didn’t want it to just fizzle out, that would just be kinda weird and people would just remember it fizzling out. We wanted it to end on something big—which is why we intentionally decided to end it at the Board of Trustees meeting.

“[The occupation] was to really put the word out that this is happening, this is what happened over the summer; we’re not gonna let PSU sweep it under the rug,” Dey continued. “And we also wanted to recruit new people, so we can now build on the campaign...Our membership has probably doubled since the occupation. So, now that we’ve done that, we’re starting to talk about what we might want to do going forward—and it will probably just be an array of

tactics —because we don't want to just keep the same things going.

"We put a lot of emphasis on coalition. Because something the Board of Trustees has done in the past—and the university in general—has kind of written off #DisarmPSU as a campaign of just some...fringe students going off and just doing this big campaign, but [PSU claims] it's not actually representative of the whole school. So that's why we collaborate with ASPSU, that's why we collaborate with faculty, and we try to intersect with as many student groups and student and community members as we can, because we want to show that this is a campus-wide effort. Although this is being led by PSUSU, the campaign is being worked on by the entire university."

Dey said she believes alternative solutions to armed CPSO lie in transformative justice and stronger commitment to de-escalation techniques. The memorial's details are still being developed. Dey said PSUSU wants the Washington family to be in charge of the specifics but that they have expressed a desire for the memorial to be in the area where he was killed. An OPB article reported PSU plans to create memory books for the Washington family with pictures of the memorial and of messages written on the column that were erased—but a memory book seems a far cry from a permanent memorial. As of this publication, PSU and Shoureshi haven't shown signs of a willingness to open up that discussion.

ASPSU CPSO Ad Hoc Committee

Associated Students of Portland State University, has played a very visible role in the campaign to disarm campus police since Washington was killed. The windows of their office in Smith Memorial Student Union facing the large, heavily trafficked street still have signs showing support for #DisarmPSU. Some signs read: "Disarm PSU NOW!!!" "Welcome to AmeriKKKa, cops get away with murder," "Remember Jason Washington," as well as informational fliers about the campaign.

According to ASPSU CPSO Ad Hoc Committee Member Camilo Assad, someone anonymously posted fliers stating "police are not the enemy" alongside the other posters in the ASPSU window, but these fliers were quickly taken down by the ASPSU staff. "[The] fliers do not in any way represent something we have democratically decided and were removed by ASPSU members who felt violated by the secrecy and betrayal of this action," he said. "In 2016, we passed a resolution supporting disarmament and linking police brutality and the institutions of police on a national level with racism. The original fliers [posted on the window supporting #DisarmPSU] remain under the purview of ASPSU policy and positions."

ASPSU President Luis Balderas-Villagrana said ASPSU's involvement became more than an official stance after Jason Washington was killed. "The ASPSU [CPSO] Ad Hoc Committee was formed during the summer by executive order by

me," Balderas-Villagrana said, iterating the committee is still rooted in that 2016 resolution. He said this was done with the belief that due to the circumstances surrounding Washington's death, Balderas-Villagrana and ASPSU felt they needed to turn a stance into an active committee in order to make their belief an action and a priority. Balderas-Villagrana said he respects the amount of work students have put into the #DisarmPSU occupation and campaign. "The ad hoc committee has been doing amazing work these past few weeks: They gather all the information, all the data, and so they are the people to go to if students want to talk or have questions. They definitely are willing to listen to them."

The ASPSU CPSO Ad Hoc Committee recently testified before the Higher Education Coordinating Commission. Committee members Donald Thompson III and Camilo Assad said they weren't there to testify against the policy itself but against the way the BOT treats the university community. "We went to testify on the historical context of #DisarmPSU," Assad said. "And more specifically to speak to a developing pattern where the non-representative (student, faculty, staff member) trustees have failed to act in the best interest or spirit of the university community. We believe local business leaders are treating our university like a corporation and not a public institution for education. We asked them to consider this when tuition time comes around."

Olivia Pace sits on the stage and talks to Maude Hines. Pace throws her hands in the air and asks what else the BOT needs to disarm CPSO.





A student passes in front of the window to the ASPSU office in SMSU

Thompson and Assad both said they felt the HECC was receptive and impressed by the fact that students showed up to testify.

PSU compares Jason Washington memorial to graffiti and swastikas

In August 2018, OPB reported PSU President Rahmat Shoureshi stated PSU remains neutral in all matters of free speech including memorials and hateful messages. Students recently had a meeting, with someone from PSU's Office of General Counsel and Shoureshi in which the PSU legal representative doubled down by telling students that PSU had to treat the memorial like graffiti: a public temporary display of speech that theoretically would need to be cleaned up. They asked the students how they'd like the school to respond if someone posted a swastika.

Keeping an open dialogue and listening

Despite having taken a hard stance in favor of disarming campus police, Balderas-Villagrana said he is committed to listening to students—not just those who agree, but also those who oppose ASPSU's decision. He said he feels it is his responsibility as ASPSU president to make the effort to listen to everyone. However, Balderas-Villagrana said the data are convincing. "The ad hoc committee has

presented me with a lot of evidence, a lot of work, research that they have done since the shooting that killed Jason Washington, and it's pretty clear that police institutions are harmful to people of color, specific Black individuals and African Americans," Balderas-Villagrana said.

"It is something that is not only happening at PSU but it's happening nationwide, and I think PSU can definitely be the leading force in creating a new institution of safety that does not use weapons as the only means of calming people down or bringing peace, which guns don't. So that's why I think it's important for us to do a bit more just so we can be the university that innovates on safety and allows other universities and maybe other institutions to take our model and use it in their own organizations," he continued.

Balderas-Villagrana is diplomatic in his views of PSU's BOT. "I think they were listening, and I wished they would have expressed that a little bit more...and I think they need to continue to listen to students. I was there listening to students, I was taking notes, I wasn't on my phone or anything...I wish there was more of that, to actually sit there and listen to them. So, I wish they had done a little bit better, but I feel like they did [listen]...But I feel like they should be preparing for this campaign as it only gets bigger and more students are becoming aware."

Passionate community member speaks out

"I happen to feel that sometimes God puts things in your way for a reason, and I think he put this in my path, and so, here I am," Mike Federighi said, taking a break from a solo protest on SW Broadway on Oct. 19. "Police officers haven't been held accountable enough, they haven't been in my situation; they were not in Jason Washington's. And you know what? That makes me mad. So, I could say that I'm out here because I can relate—I can't relate, I'm breathing. But I can say that my time has come, to speak out, and that's why I'm here."

"You may have a feeling about armed security," he continued. "You may have a feeling about when someone can draw a gun. You may have a feeling about whether police officers always act correctly or not. You may have a response about a lot of things. But if you look at this specific situation, to me, every time, you can't help, no matter what side, any part of this coin you're on, to come back and say, 'In this situation, something went really really wrong, and, so far, not enough accountability has been made.'"

"A man got to walk away from his job, I think that's a good thing, because he's no longer a reminder to the campus," Federighi said. "I think that both officers, even if they were correct in their actions, I don't think that they should be here, they're a reminder of something that went dreadfully wrong. You know, I started this off saying that I'm not a big fan of guns. I actually am a fan of guns, sad to say, in the hands of law enforcement. I think they're necessary in this day and age. I think that when law enforcement is doing their job correctly, we should all want them armed. Some people don't. But we shouldn't allow them to fire 17 times."

"For those people that say that there's not enough training, I do think there's an appropriate amount of training, which furthers the idea that did you need to immediately draw your gun in that situation?...I can't speak to what went on in their minds: I wasn't there, I'm not them. But what I can speak to is that if you are trained correctly, couldn't you have found

some other ways to do what you did? And couldn't you see that there was literally a man at his feet? If you didn't even want to look at the fact that he wasn't firing at you, couldn't you look at the fact that you didn't wanna kill this other person? I mean what, you're trading what? A situation where no one has been shot for one that someone is now dead, and you could've killed someone else who wasn't even holding a gun. Every time you circle around this issue, there's problems.

"Take their police department. I was arguing that PSU doesn't even need an armed police department, but then I read, from PSU—which who knows, everyone has their own story it would seem—that the Portland Police felt that they could not give adequate protection to this campus," Federighi continued. "I think that's horseshit.

"You've got a downtown precinct. Oh my god, do you get to cop out of anything and everything? Why are we paying you? I mean is this just another way to shake out more dollars? Where is the level of commitment? Shoot, can I tell you I am a firm advocate in doing things to the fullest, but you know what? I'm a citizen; you're a police officer. I feel like your level of excellence is so much higher, it's consistent. If you're feeling like you're in a bad mood and some of your biases and your history and all that is going to affect your decision-making ability then again, take the day off, sit out, get it together, go somewhere and masturbate, whatever, get in a happy spot. But you don't get to treat people differently. And you don't get to use excessive force.

"You are literally the most important cog in the wheel, you can't do that, you absolutely can't. You've got a gun, you've got a right to have a gun, and to fire it and to arrest people. If you don't see how that impacts everything in society, you're crazy. Maybe part of the problem is, you feel an immunity that maybe you shouldn't. And I'm not just talking about being on the job and being prosecuted when your actions are out of line. I'm saying you also seem to feel an immunity when it comes to being out in a community as well, that you are above the law, literally, not only above the law, but also that you're never gonna be affected—and you probably won't because of the job you hold.

"But can't you get it through your thick head that that's exactly why you can walk

on water and someone else is drowning?" he said. "I mean you are the person who's literally stepping on their head at times, while you're walking on water and they're drowning. It's too easy to believe the police immediately...Maybe there was a time and place when the police had a better record and everything, but those days are done. They have so much power and authority. Why aren't we making them immediately have to answer? Instead of going, 'Oh it's the police department, we're gonna trust them 100 percent.' Why don't they have to prove themselves as much as the person they've arrested [has to]? It's crazy."

Why keep fighting to #DisarmPSU

Washington was killed while trying to break up a fight and maintain control over his weapon. Washington wasn't fighting anyone, he was trying to de-escalate. He was killed because officers speculated that he might use the gun in his possession to shoot at them.

"What's in it for me is that I believe firmly in contributing to my community, no matter where that is," Camilo Assad wrote. "In my community, my tax dollars (or tuition fees) paid for a security force that murdered someone. The administration whose salaries I pay have tried to avoid dealing with this situation and are willing to give themselves good PR without addressing the desires and safety of their community. I feel obligated to speak up when my contributions paid for an institution that murdered someone. If we don't play a role in shaping the world

we want to create, it will never come true. The world I want to participate in is one in which Jason Washington's death is not repeated, and in which the pain his family and his community is made to suffer does not befall anyone else."

"The most uplifting part has definitely been the amount of support that we've gotten, we've gotten so much support to the point where it's almost a little overwhelming, we didn't expect it all, so that's very hopeful," Kaitlyn Dey said. "We've seen a lot of minds change, too; because it hasn't been just an influx of support, it's been an influx of people who didn't support us but now support us... so seeing a lot of minds change is really hopeful for me."

"Everyone who's involved with the ad hoc committee and with me, we're just passionate about it, we want to see change; we don't want to see people dying anymore because of those reasons." Balderas-Villagrana said. "We see it every day in the news where somebody is targeted just because of the color of their skin, and so we can't just keep going with the status quo, we have to challenge it, we have to change these institutions, we have to make them better. So if the students become engaged with that, that's what the university is here for, to innovate on things. And so if we're not doing that, then what's the point of being at a university if you're just gonna say 'we're different,' but just follow all the same things that every other university does?"

Mike Federighi protests alone on Oct. 19 outside SMSU diagonally across SW Broadway from CPSO





Palestinian Film Fest

by Cory Elia

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a tough subject for some to talk about. From October 5–7, 2018 PSU's 5th Ave. Cinema hosted the Palestinian film fest entitled *Human Rights in the Holy Land: The Rest of the Story*. The festival consisted of several movies examining the conflict from the Palestinian perspective and multiple short clips giving an explanation of the regional conflict's history in some aspect or another.

The Stones Cry Out is a film which showed how for 70 years Palestinians—including Muslims, Christians, and others—suffered occupation, oppression, expulsion, displacement, and even wars. The film gave a voice to the often silenced Palestinian Christians during these tumultuous events. The film covers the time period from the 1948 Palestinian exodus, known as “Nakba”—in which 700,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled from Jerusalem during the Palestinian War—to the present day.

The Wanted 18 documented a group of Palestinians in Beit Sahour who started a dairy farm and hid their 18 cows from Israeli security forces when the dairy collective became deemed a threat to the national security of Israel. The film was a split of both live footage and animations.

One of the more shocking films of the festival was created by a Portland local filmmaker named Zeldia Edmunds. Edmunds' film, *Imprisoning a Generation*, examined ways in which Palestinian children are arrested and imprisoned by the Israeli state in an attempt to break the next generation. It follows four Palestinian children that are imprisoned in what was formerly their home but is now Israeli territory and the torture they endure on a daily basis, it's almost difficult to not draw a comparison between the recent detainment of children by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and this situation. More on this film can be found at www.anemoia.net.

Perhaps the most thought provoking of the films was *The Occupation of the American Mind*. Prior to the screening was an eight minute clip that explored the history of how the Jewish people fled Europe following the Nazi holocaust of WWII and claimed Jerusalem as their own, citing biblical text as proof.

The Occupation of the American Mind showed how continual Israeli military occupation of Palestinian territory coupled with non-stop invasions of the Gaza strip have been scrutinized worldwide except in the United States. It also explained how the US has continually provided support financially to the Israeli state since its creation.

It played to a packed house of about 50 to 60 people. Those in attendance were eager, intrigued, and interested at the beginning; but within a few minutes of the main film starting, and showing the overwhelmingly terrifying history of the conflict, the crowd changed to a more quiet and solemn demeanor.

The conflict began with the Zionist movement becoming a political aspiration in 1897 for the Jewish people to reclaim the land of Zion, which had been a part of the Jewish belief system for well over a millennium. However, since the 1500s the region had been primarily inhabited by Arab Muslims and most of the Jewish Population was spread throughout Europe.

There had been many attempts for mass resettlement of the region by the Jewish people, but it wasn't until the atrocities of the Jewish Holocaust that mass migration to Jerusalem occurred. In 1947 the UN ruled that the region be split between the Jewish and Arab peoples; 55% of the land was given to the Jews and 45% to the Arabs. This was instantly contested by the Arabs as being unfair. Since that time there has been a vast number of conflicts between the two groups.

The Palestine War from 1947–1949 began quickly after the UN mandated

territorial split; this was immediately followed by a period of incredibly violent fighting between 1950–1967; which led right into The Six Day War of June 1967; then another period of intense fighting from 1967–1993, which reduced the amount of territory occupied by the Palestinians to what is currently known as the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, with a few small outcroppings of settlements in-between.

From 1993–2000 the Oslo Peace Process saw representatives of the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization negotiating towards a proposed two-state solution—which ultimately failed. 2000–2005 was one of the most intense periods of conflict between the two states and was known as the second uprising of the Palestinian people. From that time in 2005, a Palestinian group known as Hamas—whose main objective is to work towards the obliteration of the Israeli state on Palestinian ancestral land—has grown in power and has made it clear they will never accept any form of a negotiation or peace treaty as sufficient enough to make up for what they and many other countries see as the deliberate cleansing of a people.

After the movie, a panel consisting of Jenka Soderberg from KBOO radio and the Ned Rosch of Jewish Voice for Peace Portland spoke about the films and the conflict. Ned shared how he was of Jewish descent and that having studied the conflict so intensely he can't help but feel horrified for the pain the Palestinian people have felt. Also during the panel the distinction was made clear that these films were not meant to generate an anti-Semitic mindset but to bring a voice to an often silenced cultural outcry. Since President Trump declared Jerusalem as the Israeli capital on December 6, 2017 tensions in the region could only foreseeably intensify further.

PSU Bored of Distrust



by G. J. Schneider

The Portland State University Board of Trustees is made up of mostly affluent individuals with the final vote on big decisions for PSU—like arming campus security and raising tuition. In this time of keen socio-economic criticism and high civic engagement, the responsibility of evaluating PSU legislation has been taken on by more than just administrators. Faculty, staff, and students are engaging in discourse with the boards and committees who have the say on issues that affect the Portland State Community.

The board of trustees heard an abundance of students speak at their meeting on October 4th, 2018. The students' presence and advocacy was in opposition of arming campus security. Associated Students of PSU President Luis Balderas-Villagrana, said, "I was disappointed with the board's response to the students. I thought it was disrespectful of the board to simply walk out after the meeting." He felt, given the student's powerful statements in opposition of arming campus security, the board of trustees ought to have given more consideration and time to those affected by

the recent campus shooting, and the death of Jason Washington. Balderas-Villagrana went on to say "There was a lot of great student support for the meeting...I felt completely ignored."

Regarding the board of trustees private follow up meeting, student board representative Antonio Leiva said at an ASPSU Executive Board meeting, "There was a lot of stuff that was said that was needed to get the board's attention...I'm not allowed to talk about what they [the board] said." Though, when questioned on the nature of the discussion, Antonio was

illustration by McKenzie Lee

able to disclose that the board's discussion was "positive," but he is not sure when they will make a decision. Leiva followed up by commenting about the board meeting, "It was essentially 37 students just roasting the board. Which was good."

#DISARMPSU and tuition increases have been two of the hottest topics on the Portland State Campus. Going into the 2018-2019 academic year, student representatives are looking at the source of these problems that university students, staff, and faculty are campaigning against. PSU community members are looking into a referendum for the Oregon state legislation which may be at the root of these campus issues.

According to ASPSU President Balderas-Villagrana, the proposed tuition increase for the 2019-2020 academic year is 10%—double the proposed tuition increase for this academic year. This percentage increase will cost out of state undergraduate students taking 16 credits approximately \$3,097 more a year. With minimum wage increasing to \$12.50 in July 2019, it would take a student 248 hours to earn that increase before taxes.

This tuition increase will be voted on by the board of trustees. Those on the board appointed by the governor include former General Manager of Nike in China, Pete Nickerson; Oregon's largest tech company president, Gregory Hinckley; self-identified 'serial entrepreneur,' Irving Levin; Nike Legal Manager Lindsay Stewart; and two executives for NW Natural Gas: Vice President for Public Affairs, Thomas Imeson, and Senior Vice President of Environmental Affairs, Margaret Kirkpatrick. Along with these elites stand three PSU community members: one student representative, Antonio Leiva; one staff representative, Erica Bestpitch; and one faculty representative, Maude Hines.

Oregon state law requires all public university board of trustee members be appointed by the Governor; those who decide the Portland State Tuition and those who decided to arm campus security are not necessarily members of the Portland State community.

The Governor spends a small amount of time on the Portland State campus. The Governor was not part of the Portland State community mourning the death of Jason Washington, and the Governor's appointed Board won't be stuck with another 248 hours worth of work given the tuition increase. The bottom line is most of the current board does not represent Portland State, and these people are not affected by their decisions for this university. Though safety and financial stability are common goals, how these are to be achieved look different in a boardroom than they do on the students' campus.

This dissonance has caused Student Government members to question the Governor's authority to appoint the members of the PSU Board of Trustees. There are community members, like Professor Hines who has been faculty at Portland State since 2000, currently representing the needs and wants of those most affected by the Board's decisions. Although there are only three community representatives, if the Governor will not appoint more, Student representatives may choose to begin a referendum. A change in Oregon State Legislation may be upon us.

The three actual Portland State University community members on the fifteen-member board were fought for by the students and hold a 1/5 voting minority. The Portland State University community's one student representative, one staff representative, and one faculty representative did not vote to arm Campus Public Safety Officers in 2015, and all three consistently oppose raising tuition.

If the board was essentially made up of voters whose demographic matched that of Portland State University, the university would likely have unarmed campus security and we would likely not have tuition increases like the 10% suggested for next year. Though you cannot prove that which may have been yet is not, tuition increases and arming campus public safety officers were decisions made by the current PSU Board of Trustees and voted against by the community representatives.

PSU community members are

looking into a referendum for Oregon State Legislation. It is not a defacto happenstance that the trustees are appointed by the Governor. The Governor selects the trustees because this is a state law. (See Oregon State Law Chapter 352 section 76 subsections 1-4). Changing these standards will not be a simple feat. This is the essence of bureaucracy and democracy.

This reporter has a hunch these wealthy Portland elites may have been selected because of their deep pockets as opposed to their deep hearts for PSU. Even if these folks do care about PSU, they are not who ought to make life-changing decisions for PSU students.

Since PSU students, staff, and faculty occupied Portland State in demand of disarming campus security, #DISARMPSU, it has come time to question the origin of the arming decision and the institutional changes which may need to accompany the protest. The protest is having a resurgence on social media, engaging the otherwise uninvolved, and keeping the conversation going. Justice for Jason Washington is a demand. The tuition increase will not be accepted without a fight.

Can these protests change the minds or hearts of the Board? The scientific process is recognizing patterns and making assumptions of the future based on those observations. The patterns seen from the Board are not those Portland State Students want to see. Given the vitality of these protests, and the minimally flexible board, being vocal might not be enough. Keeping the conversation going might not be enough. A hashtag might not be enough. Protest is not going to change legislation alone. The process for state law referendums is long and bureaucratic. Contacting district representatives and beginning petitions are being considered by student leaders. Change may not come easily, but the first step is admitting there is a problem.

Violent Mob Riots to Show Support for Law and Order

Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys' waving American flags during march in downtown Portland ended in massive bloody brawl. Photos by Cory Elia, Oct. 13, 2018

Latest bloodshed in Portland yet another tiring example of Patriot Prayer's hypocrisy

by Cory Elia

Patriot Prayer marched in downtown Portland on October 13, 2018 for "Law and Order" in response to an altercation between protesters of the Patrick Kimmons shooting and a driver who drove through the crowd a week before on October 6.

After a video of the incident went viral nationwide and FOX news made it look worse than it was, Mayor Ted Wheeler responded in his monthly press briefing by saying, "at any given moment in this city the police are being criticized for being heavy handed and intervening too quickly or they're being criticized for being standoffish and not intervening quickly enough."

While the Mayor said he was appalled by the incident, he also said that he agreed with the police decision not to intervene and that "crowd control situations need to be handled on a case-to-case basis."

In response to this, on October 12, 2018, Joey Gibson, Patriot Prayer's leader announced on the group's Facebook page their intention to form a flash march at 6 p.m. on October 13, 2018, on the NE

corner of Nordstrom across from Pioneer Square in response to what he says is the actions of Mayor Wheeler allowing "angry mobs to run the streets."

"We need as many American flags as we can bring, it's a beautiful thing to see American flags in downtown Portland because American flags aren't very welcomed," Gibson said in a video for the event.

"Ted Wheeler is already feeling the pressure, simply by making one live video he decides to come out and have a press conference about it," Gibson said. He also announced his intention to have the group march by the memorial for Patrick Kimmons at the corner of SW Harvey Milk St. and SW Fourth Ave.

That same evening, October 12, the Proud Boys and racist skinheads were seen brutally assaulting people side by side in New York City after Proud Boys' leader Gavin McInnes gave a speech inside the Metropolitan Republican Club in Manhattan.

At 2:10 p.m. on the 13th, hours before the Patriot Prayer march was scheduled to

begin, journalist Jacqueline Keeler received an International SOS urging travelers to "plan routes avoiding a rally by the far-right Patriot Prayer group..." where travelers may experience "...incidental exposure to violence."

By 6:15 p.m. on Saturday October 13th, about a hundred Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys members assembled outside of Nordstrom. Patriot Prayer's Joey Gibson and Tusitala "Tiny" Toese took turns giving speeches while the last few of their members arrived.

As 7 p.m. rolled around, 150 or so Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys started their march chanting simply "USA!" and "Trump!" as they walked down the sidewalk to the corner of SW 6th and Yamhill before heading towards the Patrick Kimmons memorial at corner of SW 4th and SW Stark. This is when the Portland Police Bureau made their presence known, informing the group to stay on the sidewalks. When the group arrived at the Kimmons memorial they were met by around 200-300 "blocc'd out" antifascist counter-protesters and plain-clothed civilians.

After about 30 minutes of the groups yelling at each other, members of Patriot Prayer delivered flowers to the Kimmons memorial and an antifascist protester started to burn an American flag—the flag was snatched up by a Patriot Prayer member before it was burned to ashes.

Another 5 minutes or so passed and the right-wing group continued their march, going down two more blocks, taking a left on Pine followed by a left on 5th to head back towards Pioneer Square.

When the group got to 5th and Harvey Milk they attempted to take a left and head right back towards the Kimmons memorial but were met by a wall of antifascist protesters. After several tense moments of a standoff, multiple antifascists started to spray the crowd with bear spray, and an all-out brawl between the groups occurred in front of Kelly's Olympian.

After several moments of officers struggling to maintain order due to more than a half dozen fights happening simultaneously; including one where a far-right protester saw a counterprotester being kicked repeatedly while on the ground, ran over, and brutally stomped on a man's head three times. Rubber bullets were deployed by PPB and the groups separated. It was announced later by PPB that no arrests were made.

Once Patriot Prayer and the Proud Boys re-formed their groups, and the antifascists retreated back to the Kimmons memorial behind a police line. Gibson and his cohorts continued back down 5th, while several members (including minority members) made the known white supremacist hand signal of an upside-down OK at any camera they could till they got to pioneer square and marched back to their starting spot in front of Nordstroms by 8pm. By 9pm most of the group had disbursed leaving only about 30 of the group waiting for their ride to arrive.

KOIN 6 reported that four individuals were treated for injuries at the scene, and reportedly no one was taken to the hospital, even though the individual whose head was stomped on 3 times clearly lost a significant amount of blood.




Patriot Prayer members beginning to assemble. Photo by Cory Elia



Counterprotesters at Patrick Kimmons memorial confront Patriot Prayer at SW MLK and SW 4th



Shoeprints wander through a pool of blood from the counterprotester's head. photo: Jake Johnson



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